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THE OXFORD REFORMERS




THE OXFORD REFORMERS
AND ENGLISH CHURCH PRINCIPLES:
THEIR RISE, TRIAL, AND TRIUMPH.
BY THE LATE GEORGE FOX BRIDGES,
OF OXFORD

PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION, AND
PARTLY RE-WRITTEN, BY HIS NEPHEW,
THE REV. W. G. BRIDGES, M.A.,
SOMETIME VICAR OF ST. GEORGE'S, HYDE

LONDON: ELLIOT STOCK
62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1908

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PREFACE

THE following pages contain the main portion of a book written more than forty-five years ago by an Oxford layman during the latter part of a serious illness which kept him a prisoner on his bed for the greater part of ten years. He had suffered even as a boy from some obscure affection of the heart, and in 1852 was quite laid up. A letter written by him to his brother will give the reader an insight into his character :

“ 43, ST. GILES', OXFORD,

“ *December 12, 1854.*

“ DEAR JAMES,

“ It is a long time since I attempted to write a note to anyone, but this day being my birthday, I have resolved to try my hand once more. I am forty-eight years of age to-day, and it is two years now since I have been under confinement with my last illness. You who get about actively amongst busy life can have little idea of the world in which I and thousands of sick people live, and it will surprise you, I dare say, when I tell you that if it could be said to me, ‘ Which two years of your life would you wish cancelled ? ’ it would not be the two last. No ; I reckon these last the most valuable of all the forty-eight, and only for this reason—viz., that I have learned more in them than in any other two. You would be surprised what a school the quiet bedroom constantly is, and how quickly one learns in it. I very often think this two years of seclusion should have occurred twenty years ago. Not that I have learned anything new—no, not so much that as that I have had time to examine everything I had before taken as a matter of course ; and if I am any judge,

I should say that in nine cases out of ten it is necessary for some kind of trial or other to occur to force us to think. I know too well how the active duties of life are made an excuse for avoiding serious thought. We are so very intent on what is agreeable to our own wishes that we put off from time to time until the real state of things is suddenly forced on us.

“And now, perhaps you will say, ‘What have you seen so much clearer than before?’ Why, just this: I have been compelled to feel in a way I never did before the very temporary nature of the longest life, and that it is only a prelude to a more perfect state of existence. This I find out as a certain truth merely by the exercise of my own observation without the aid of revelation. My reason tells me that all the wonderful endowments of the human mind, and its powers of reasoning on the past, present, and future—especially its strong anticipations of a future state—would never have been given me if they were to be only a torment to me and to perish with this life. And this, I find, has been in all times and countries the conclusion to which the deepest thinkers have come—viz., ‘that this life is only a prelude or introduction to another.’ Well, now, only observe how this consideration alone, firmly understood and fixed in the mind, supports anyone in my case who has every earthly hope taken away—indeed, my case would be very sad if I did not know better where to look for support. So far what we call natural religion teaches us, and there it leaves us. It plainly shows us that there is a future life, but it does not show the way. Here the philosopher and the acute reasoner must stop; they can get no further; but they can see there is something wanting to be revealed as to the way.

“And here one would think that everyone arrived at this point would be so anxious to investigate the necessity of, and the hopes held out by, revelation, and that the Bible would be diligently studied; but I ask, Is that the case? We know how it is neglected, and it is only

when a person is brought by some means or other to ask in earnest, 'What must I do to be saved?' that he will really inquire; but if anyone does make the necessary effort, he will find that Christianity is just such a revelation as he would wish it to be. He is not told to do any great thing to earn it, but to receive it as a free gift—that is, he will find that 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.' This is, indeed, 'glad tidings' to everyone who is looking to the future life. It is so to me.

"I recollect some years ago you repeated (I think it was when we lost mother) the following verse from the old version of the Psalms, and it is a very noble and elevating idea—viz. :

"O Thou to whom all creatures bow
Within this earthly frame,
Through all the world how great art Thou!
How glorious is Thy name!"

But when one is weighed down, as it were, with bodily suffering, and with eternity in view, no one can tell the value of knowing for oneself that the same Power 'unto whom all creatures bow' is one's Saviour, too. He has said, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life; no man cometh to the Father but by Me'; and He has also said: 'Whosoever cometh to Me, I will in no wise cast out.' Here is consolation and encouragement for all, for we are all alike in our need of a Saviour to save us from the consequences of our sins.

"Dear James, you will, perhaps, think this is not such a birthday letter as most would have written, but remember my situation, and how little it would become me to trifle with time. I cannot be too thankful for all the alleviations I have experienced in the past year. I have had, and have now, great anxieties about others (as you know), but amidst it all I have had preserved to me the full enjoyment of my thinking powers, and I think they never were so strong and my judgment so clear as now. You will observe by this letter that my handwriting betrays me. I confess I have not much ease in writing. It

is an effort on my part, but a pleasure, to be able to send only a line, and you must not expect many such epistles as this, for I can sensibly find increasing weakness. I can only pray, and ask my friends also to pray for me that, as the Apostle says, 'as the outward man perisheth, the inward man [the soul] may be renewed day by day.'

"I try every day to remember you. Do the same for me and all here at Oxford, that we may cheerfully wait the will of the Lord, as 'all our times are in His hands,' and all our strength too.

Believe me,

"Your affectionate brother,

"GEORGE."

In 1858 he was able to be taken out on a chair in a reclining position in the garden almost daily during the summer, and a few times outside in a carriage. Dr. Acland, who attended him, on one of these occasions took him to see the new Museum (June 28). He was now collecting extracts which form the bulk of this work, but it was written out within a short time of his death, which took place December 4, 1862. For his original title of the work "The Oxford Giants" was suggested by the words of Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford in the House of Lords on May 8, 1860, when he said: "The Book of Common Prayer possessed the truth as it had been handed down from the primitive Church, and it had also in it the spirit of those giants whom God raised up when they brushed away the corruptions of mediæval Christianity"; and there are frequent references to this throughout the original work.

The first part of the book gives an historical account of the Oxford Reformers during the 150 years' struggle for an open Bible. The second part gives quotations from their writings, illustrating English Church principles, with the motto in the words of William Wilberforce: "The Church's Wellhead: the works of the ancient worthies of the English religious Establishment."

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The whole work occupied 957 closely-written pages of thirty-six lines each, with a red margin, and emphatic words in red ink, bound in two volumes; but various circumstances have prevented any steps being taken towards publication until now, when the whole has been revised and shortened by his nephew, and some part omitted, including some 200 pages on the minor abuses which were swept away at the Reformation; while the title has been altered, as more explicit.

It is hoped that the facts and writings here set forth will be found not only interesting, as showing the views of laymen fifty years ago, but very helpful in dealing with the present-day difficulties from the light of God's dealings in an earlier age.

"OXFORD, 1908."



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INTRODUCTION*

CHURCH PRINCIPLES! What are they? and where may they be found? These are questions of increasing importance, because the time is fast approaching when every Churchman will have to choose between two contrary and opposing systems of divinity.

We need go no further than our own city churches for proof of this; for in about half of them we hear faithfully preached all those great Protestant truths for which our martyrs fought and died; in the other those same truths are either openly denied or carefully explained away! Brethren of the Establishment, these things ought not so to be. Were it only in little matters of doctrine or ceremonial it would be our duty to bear and forbear, but in matters affecting the salvation of souls indifference or unconcern is a vice and a crime.

The questions at issue now in the Church of England are not of secondary importance: they are first principles, even those on which the Reformation turned, such as the all-sufficiency of Holy Scripture, how regeneration is effected, and how a man can stand justified before God. On these chief points we find the Church of England divided into two distinct bodies: the one party teaching exactly as Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, and every one of the Reformers without exception, taught; the other the new school, holding with those men who put the Reformers of the Church of England to death. This is strange—passing strange—disclosing a wider difference within our Church than exists between Baptists, Independents, and Wesleyans.

* Written in or before 1862.

About twenty-five years ago arose, as is well known, the new school of theology. Soon after their teaching was clearly defined by Mr. Gladstone under the title of "Church Principles," the sum and substance of which was the cutting off of all Protestant Churches, and claiming sympathy with Rome through Apostolical Succession, claiming for the Church of England an agreement with Rome in essentials, and dissent from Rome only in less matters. All this attempted by arguments borrowed from Rome, and that in a way no Protestant could by any possibility sanction—namely, by trying to depreciate the authority and all-sufficiency of Holy Scripture, by hiding the scriptural doctrine of Justification by Faith only, and by substituting the sacramental theory of regeneration and justification.

Abundant proof of this might be given. One passage will show the estimation in which the Holy Word is held, and be a clue to all his theories. In "Church Principles," p. 333, he says : "Sectarianism by sheer and blind assumption lays all Scripture at the feet of every individual man, to be moulded according to the crudities of his own fancy—an *evil*, limited or averted by humble piety where it exists—but men in the mass do not bring this qualification to the work—an evil, moreover, denied upon the plea that Scripture is acknowledged as an infallible teacher ; but *no security* is thus afforded, for it is a teacher that is *dumb*, and *cannot remonstrate* with the taught."

What ! is it possible to revive in the nineteenth century, with any chance of acceptance, the old Popish idea of a free Bible and the right of private judgment being evils—"evils, indeed, but limited by humble piety"? Then let the Bible societies be careful how they distribute the Word of God to any but humble, pious persons, for fear of evil ensuing.

But is this fear of the Bible a new idea, after all ? No ; for my Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, with the Bishops, 300 years ago prevailed on Henry VIII. to issue a proclamation saying that "the having of the Scripture is not

necessary for Christian men," and "Forasmuch as the King's Highness, by the advice and deliberation of his Council, and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh in his conscience that the divulging of this Scripture at this time in the English tongue to be committed to the people should rather be to the farther confusion and destruction than the edification of their souls." Just so, Sir Thomas More, and yet the people would not be satisfied until they got the Bible; they insisted on having an open Bible, and we are enjoying the benefit of their perseverance.

Still, Mr. Gladstone's "Church Principles" go on to caution us against setting too high a value on the Bible, for they tell us that it is a teacher that is dumb and cannot remonstrate. Whoever tried and found it could not remonstrate? Who? That idea, certainly, if true, would be new; but it is neither true nor new. That it is not new may easily be seen by referring to the Council of Trent in the way a former Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford used to do in these words:

"The voice of Scripture must be our rule. But, saith the Romanizing Papist, the Scripture hath no voice at all, but is *res muta*, a dumb thing. The Bishop of Poitiers, in the infamous conventicle of Trent, was of this mind, 'that the Scripture is a dead and dumb thing.' Albertus Phigius before that time had discovered his opinion of the point that the Scriptures are 'dumb judges, and therefore unfit to have matters of controversy put to their judgment'; and Petrus a Soto saith as much in effect, calling the Scripture a 'dumb letter that gives no answer.' This is but one of the many blasphemies which Papists have uttered to the disgrace of Holy Scripture, against whom to the honour whereof we maintain this assertion: The Scripture is *not dumb* and speechless, but hath a voice—a clear voice, easy to be heard, except we be deaf" (Sebastian Benefield, 1629).

Thus we see the identity of Mr. Gladstone's new theories with Rome, inasmuch as they both run down Scripture for the purpose of exalting the clergy under the name of

"the Church," and so setting up another authority in matters of religion in addition to the written Word.

"Thus men go wrong with an ingenious skill,
Bend the straight rule to their own crooked will,
And with a clear and shining light supplied
First put it out, then take it for a guide.
Halting on crutches of unequal size,
One leg by truth supported, one by lies,
They sidle to the goal with awkward pace,
Secure of nothing but to lose the race."

COWPER.

The first result of putting out this "bright and shining Lamp" by the new school of theology was the sending of people to Roman Catholic sources for Church of England principles. Thus the party cry became, "Hear the Church," consult Catholic consent—Catholic consent in General Councils, their Acts and Canons, the writings of the Fathers, Antiquity, and Old Custom—authorities which are so delusive, contradictory, and corrupt that, however well they may serve for Romanists, yet surely they never did guide anyone to Church of England principles, nor ever can.

Thus far we have been obliged to allude to the differences existing in our Church, but controversy is not our object. Our aim is to point out the good old source of Church of England principles, and to give a brief history of their conflict with Romanism. But although it is not desirable to encourage a controversial spirit, yet what is our whole life but a controversy? So is the Bible from beginning to end a controversy between light and darkness, and so especially was the great Reformation which brought truth home to our doors. Unity among ourselves is most desirable, but there is something of more importance, and that is Truth. Old Father Latimer tells us that "In the time of the Six Articles there was a Bishop which ever cried, 'Unity! unity!' but he would have a Popish unity. St. Paul to the Corinthians said, 'Be ye all of one mind,' but he addeth, 'according to Christ Jesus'—that is, according to God's Holy Word—else it were better war than peace." We must prove all things, and hold fast

that which is good. The old mediæval maxim lately revived is a false and dangerous one—viz., “that no man ought to be his own theologian any more than his own physician or lawyer.” Now we would reverse the maxim, and say, “Every man his own theologian,” and this founded on the Protestant proverb, “He who will have to answer for himself hereafter must judge for himself now.” Thus we prove not only the right, but the responsibility, of private judgment, and that there is no such thing as delegating or shifting that responsibility to another.

Let us therefore seek a more excellent guide to Church of England principles. The venerable William Wilberforce, in his essay prefixed to Dr. Witherspoon’s treatises on Regeneration and Justification, makes the following observation :

“The author had drunk largely of that abundant stream of practical divinity which is supplied by what I may be permitted to term the *Church’s Wellhead*—the works of the ancient worthies of the English religious Establishment.” And in another of his works (“Practical View,” etc.) he says of the Reformers : “In their pages the peculiar doctrines of Christianity were everywhere visible, and on the deep and solid basis of these doctrinal truths were laid the foundations of a superstructure of morals proportionally broad and exalted. Of this fact their Writings still extant are a decisive proof ; and they who may want leisure, or opportunity, or inclination, for the perusal of these valuable records may satisfy themselves of the truth of the assertion that such as we have stated it was the Christianity of those times by consulting our Articles and Homilies, or even by carefully examining our excellent Liturgy.”

This, then, is the true wellhead for Church of England Evangelical Christianity, the writings of those ancient worthies and eminent Reformers who were raised up by Divine providence in those perilous times.

It is well to recall to mind the costly price paid by our ancestors for the privileges we now enjoy. More than 300 of the best of England’s sons and daughters had to

surrender their lives during Mary's five long years of terror, to say nothing of the 150 previous years, all besprinkled with Protestant blood ; then add imprisonments and tortures out of number, and, finally, the exiles from their native land, of whom, according to Bishop Burnet, upwards of 1,000 persons sought refuge among the Protestant Churches on the Continent. Strype gives the names of five Bishops, five Deans, four Archdeacons, and fifty-seven Doctors in Divinity and preachers.

Oxford was unquestionably the cradle of the Reformation and nurse of the Reformers, although rather a rough nurse sometimes. As early as the thirteenth century we find an Oxford man—Bishop Grosteste—opposing the Pope ; then in the next century Archbishop Bradwardine and Bishop Fitzraf appear with much clearer views in divinity ; and almost at the same time shone forth at Oxford the bright morning star of the Reformation—*John Wycliffe*—rightly so described because he translated the Scriptures, whose light was destined to dispel the darkness of mediævalism, working secretly through the laborious, tedious, and expensive process of transcription. Then the invention of printing enabled another Oxford man—William Tyndale, the Apostle of England—to complete the work ; and to-day the Oxford Bible Press sends forth at the rate of one copy per minute translations founded on that first printed New Testament which was sent over to England by William Tyndale in 1526.

But although Cambridge men fought with the weapons of Oxford's providing, the cause at heart was one, and Cambridge sent three of her most distinguished sons to die for the truth at Oxford, and their ashes are with us to this day. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, being dead, yet speak at Oxford from the memorial of their martyrdom. There they stand, those three worthies, who set up their altars and superaltars in Broad Street, consecrated them then and there, placing such lighted candles thereon in daylight as, to use the sacred words of aged Latimer on that solemn occasion, " We trust by God's grace shall never

be put out." There stands the venerable Latimer in his niche, speaking, as it were, to the passers-by : " I was as obstinate a Papist as any in England," and reminding us of his words when a prisoner at Oxford : " Let the Papists go with their long faith ; be you content with the short faith of the Saints as it is in the Word of God written ! Adieu to all Popish fantasies, say I. Amen."

It is remarkable that, as the Cambridge men were not allowed to die at their own University, so Oxford men suffered away from theirs—Tyndale on the Continent ; his friend Fryth in Smithfield ; Bishop Hooper at Gloucester ; Bishop Ferrar in Wales ; Philpot, Garret, and Cardmaker in Smithfield ; Palmer at Newbury ; and some others in different places. Thus testimony was borne about to the power of Bible religion in opposition to what was then called " the religion of the Church," and so the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church. A remarkable instance of this is on record.

A young man, Fellow of Magdalen College—a Papist, of course—had great curiosity to know how the men of the new learning would stand the test of martyrdom by fire. He accordingly sent two trusty messengers all the way from Oxford to Gloucester, to witness and bring him word how that Oxford man, Bishop Hooper, behaved in the hands of his torturers when they burnt him before his own cathedral. He heard the story from his own messengers—how his sufferings were prolonged by the use of green fuel, yet for three-quarters of an hour did Hooper display the courage of a lion with the meekness of a lamb. This young Fellow heard the account, and became " thoughtful." When the appointed day arrived for burning Latimer and Ridley, he determined to attend personally and judge for himself. He saw it, turned away while the martyrs' bones were under the hot ashes, and whilst thoughtfully retracing his steps towards Magdalen College, was overheard to say : " Oh, raging cruelty ! more than barbarous," etc. This young man at once professed the martyrs' faith, and in less than two years was burnt at

the stake for it at Newbury, Berks. Many such conversions occurred, notwithstanding the orders given that the martyrs should not be allowed to speak to the people.

One of the first Protestant Bishops, writing of the martyrdom of Anne Askew and her companions in Henry VIII.'s reign, concludes thus: "Full many a Christian heart has risen, and will rise, from the Pope to Christ through occasion of their consuming in the fire, as the saying is, 'Of their ashes will more of the same opinion arise.' Many a one saith yet both in England and Dutchland also, 'Oh, that woman—that woman! Oh, those men—those men!' If the Pope's generation and wicked remnant make many more such martyrs, they are like to mar all their market in England."

Grateful to God's providence ought we to be that so faithful a record has been preserved for us in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"—a work bearing the name of Foxe, but really the joint production of Archbishop Grindal, Bishop Aylmer, Thomas Norton (who married Cranmer's niece), and Foxe. The three first also helped to make our Prayer-Book, but it was to Grindal that Foxe was most indebted. He kept up a constant correspondence with friends in England all Mary's reign for the express purpose, and it was owing to Grindal's scrupulousness in verifying his information that the work was so long as eleven years in hand. Dr. Wordsworth styles Foxe "the most authentic and faithful of all historians"; and Strype: "As he [Foxe] hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in all his transactions."

By order of Queen Elizabeth Foxe's History was placed in all the churches in the kingdom, and remained there with Bishop Jewell's "Apology" till Archbishop Laud ordered them to be removed; and although Charles II. promised to restore the "Book of Martyrs," it was never done.

We now proceed to sketch the 150 years' struggle for an open Bible, and then by some quotations from the writings of these ancient worthies to illustrate what our formularies assert to be Church of England principles.

THE OXFORD REFORMERS

PART THE FIRST

HISTORICAL

AN OPEN BIBLE

THE *history* of the long struggle on the part of the people of England for an *open Bible*, and for the solution of the question, Who are the proper keepers of Holy Writ, the clergy alone or the congregation at large? can never lack interest with an English Churchman.

In gaining for the people the use of a free Bible, Oxford took the lead in a remarkable way. The University has been true to its well-known emblem and striking motto, an open Bible, on the pages of which we read "The Lord is my light," while the city motto reveals the power, "Strong is Truth."



We are so used to an open Bible that we are scarcely able to realize the fact that for 150 years men were burned alive

for reading the Word of God in English; that Sir Thomas More, esteemed a gentle and amiable as well as a learned man, argued that Bible readers or distributors might lawfully be burned; that a short time before the close of that 150 years Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of London burnt Bibles in St. Paul's Churchyard, after which from burning books they proceeded to burn men, women, and children for the crime of reading them.

The two great leaders in this holy war for the release of a captive Bible were Oxford men—Wycliffe, whose written Bible prepared the way, and Tyndale, who with the aid of printing multiplied the copies a thousandfold.

These good men not only discovered the remedy for the abounding evils in the possession of "an open Bible," but they attacked energetically the sacramental system of Popery which, like an iron chain, had bound the minds of men in the bondage of ignorance.

The early Church in Britain had an open Bible up to the time of Bede and beyond it. Bede, who died in A.D. 735, tells us that in his time there were five languages—that is, of the English (Anglo-Saxon), Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins—"yet the Latin tongue is by the study of the Scripture become common to all." Thus it is evident that the Scriptures were in the hands of the people. No stern laws forbidding them had been passed; but already superstition was fast increasing among the semi-evangelized tribes. Transubstantiation, image and relic worship grew apace as the ignorance of Scripture prevailed. The result of this was disastrous. Earnest men looked to the Church of Rome, and unhappily Rome encouraged those medieval corruptions which strengthened their absolute power and undisputed authority.

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administration, and not in the spiritual state of mind and heart of the receiver ; and in order to meet objections, gives to the priests, as divinely authorized, power to direct the conscience and convey pardon to the sinner by means of the so-called Sacraments of Orders, Confirmation, Penance, and Extreme Unction.

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Some twenty-five years after the Ascension of our Lord we

for reading the Word of God in English; that Sir Thomas More, esteemed a gentle and amiable as well as a learned man, argued that Bible readers or distributors might lawfully be burned; that a short time before the close of that 150 years Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of London burnt Bibles in St. Paul's Churchyard, after which from burning books they proceeded to burn men, women, and children for the crime of reading them.

The two great leaders in this holy war for the release of a captive Bible were Oxford men—Wycliffe, whose written Bible prepared the way, and Tyndale, who with the aid of printing multiplied the copies a thousandfold.

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whole body of the clergy and people are concerned in it equally with me; for me, then, to give a definite answer in an instant to such a demand, before the sense of the kingdom is taken upon it, would be rash and absurd." The native good sense of the Bishop suggested this answer, but the true character of the Pope was as yet unknown to him.

In 1248 he obtained from Innocent IV. letters to empower him to reform the religious Orders. He saw with grief the waste of large revenues made by the monastic Orders, and he determined to apply these funds for the better instruction of the people. But the monks appealed to the Pope, and Grosteste in his old age was obliged to travel to Lyons, where Innocent resided. Roman venality was now at its height, and the Pope determined the cause against the Bishop. Grieved and astonished at so unexpected a decision, Grosteste said to Innocent: "I relied on your letters and promises." "What is that to you?" answered the Pope. "You have done your part, and we are disposed to favour them. Is your eye evil because I am good?" The Bishop in a low tone, but so as to be heard, said with indignation: "Oh, money, how great is thy power, especially at the Court of Rome!" The Pope retorted: "You English are always grinding and impoverishing one another. How many religious men, persons of prayer and hospitality, are you striving to depress, that you may sacrifice to your own tyranny and avarice?" So spake the most unprincipled of robbers to a Bishop whose unspotted integrity was allowed by all the world. Fuller, quoting from Matthew Paris, records the startling fact that the amount of money remitted from England in the year 1252 to benefited foreigners amounted to 70,000 marks, while the King's revenue hardly rose to 20,000.

In spite of all this opposition, Grosteste diligently pursued his diocesan labours, resisting the intrusion of Italian clergy, who neither knew the English language nor cared to instruct the people, refusing to carry out the Pope's mandates, declaring that by doing so he would be the

friend of Satan, even incurring a sentence of suspension, which seems not to have been enforced. In the last year of his life we read : " It so befel among other dayly and intolerable exactions wherein Pope Innocent was injurious to the realm of England, he had a certain cosin or nephew [so Popes were wont to call their sons] named Fredricke, being yet young and under years, whom the said Innocent the Pope would needs prefer to be a Canon or Prebendary in the Church of Lincoln in the time of Robert Grosteste." Briefly, the Pope wrote to his two Italian agents in England to complete the appointment, although there was no vacancy. Grosteste was resolute, and wrote an epistle which has made his name immortal. Part of it is as follows :

" Salutem. May it please your wisdom to understand that I am not disobedient to any of the Apostolic precepts, for they can only be according to the doctrine of our Saviour Christ, Who is Lord of all the Apostles, whose type the Lord Pope seemeth to bear. But the tenor of your letter is not consonant to true sanctity, but doth swarm with all inconsistency, impudence, lying, and deceiving, disturbing the purity of the Christian religion. . . . Moreover, there is no sin so detestable as to destroy men's souls, by defrauding them of the ministry of the pastoral cure, which sin they commit who serve their own carnal desires with the milk and wool of the flock of Christ, and do not minister the same pastoral office to the salvation of those sheep, but are worse than Lucifer and Antichrist.

" Wherefore, my revered Lord, I, like an obedient child, upon my bounden duty of obedience to both the parents of the Holy Apostolic See, and for love of unity in the body of Christ, do not obey, but withstand and utterly rebel against those things in the said letter contained which tend to the aforesaid wickedness so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the holiness of the Apostolic See, and so contrary to the Catholic faith," etc.

When the Pope read this, he exclaimed : " What old, doting, frantic wretch is this so boldly and rashly to judge of my doings ! By sweet Peter and Paul, did not our

clemency restrain us, we would hurl him down to confusion. Is not the King of England our vassal—yea, our page—who at our pleasure would put him to shame?" The Cardinals, however, interposed, for, said they, "the Bishop is a holy man—indeed, more than we—and is known universally as most learned and devout. We shall only incur danger and reproach by resorting to violent measures."

Soon after this Grosteste himself was taken ill, and died at his manor at Buckden, October, 1253. Matthew Paris writes: "Out of the prison and banishment of this world, which he never loved, was taken the holy Bishop of Lincoln, Robert, who was an open reprover of the people and King, a rebuker of the Prelates, a corrector of the monks, director of the priests, instructor of the clerks, favourer of the scholars, a preacher to the people, persecutor to the incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scriptures, a maulle [mallet] to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings."

Innocent heard of his death with pleasure, and said with exultation: "I rejoice, and let every true son of the Roman Church rejoice with me, that my great enemy is removed." He ordered a letter to be written to King Henry, requiring him to take up the body of the Bishop, to cast it out of the Church, and to burn it. This was never carried into effect, probably on account of the Pope's death the following year.

An important change was now taking place among the religious Orders. The old Orders of monks had degenerated and were losing touch with the people. The two great Orders of begging friars arose—the Dominicans or Black Friars established their first monastery in Oxford in 1221, the Franciscans or Grey Friars about the same time. They mixed among the people, professed a more self-denying life, and obtained extensive privileges, preaching everywhere, hearing confessions, granting absolution, offering the sacrifice of the Mass at their discretion, without any episcopal control. They rose rapidly in favour, but as wealth flowed in luxury increased; even before Wycliffe's time 500 costly monasteries all over England arose, dis-

putes became common between them and the regular clergy, parochial order was broken up, and University tuition interfered with, and their irregularities gave an additional impulse to the cause of Reformation.

An old fable of the date 1343 shows that men were beginning to think.

THE ASS'S CONFESSOR.

"The wolf, fox, and ass came to confession, and to do penance. First the wolf confesseth himself to the fox, who easily doth absolve him from all his faults, and also excuseth him in the same. In like manner the wolf, hearing the fox's shrift, showeth to him the like favour again. After this cometh the ass to confession, whose fault was this, that he, being hungry, took a straw out of the sheaf of one that went on pilgrimage to Rome. The ass, repenting of his act, thought it not so grievous as the faults of the other, and hoped for his absolution. But what followed? After the simple ass had uttered his crime in auricular confession, immediately the discipline of the law was executed upon him with severity. Neither was he judged worthy of any absolution, but was apprehended upon the same, slain, and devoured.

"By the wolf understand the Pope, by the fox the prelates and priests, by the ass the laity."

"The Friar has walked out, and where'er he has gone
The land and its fatness is marked for his own.
He can roam where he lists, he can stop where he tries,
For every man's home is the barefooted Friar's."

W. SCOTT.

Another of the Oxford pioneers was

RICHARD FITZRAF

(Archbishop of Armagh).

He was one of the most eminent confessors of this age, "a good logician and philosopher," and "in both sorts of theology so famed that the whole University of Oxford ran

to his lectures as bees to their hive." He was much esteemed by Edward III., by whom he was made Archdeacon of Lichfield; afterwards he became Chancellor of Oxford, and Archbishop of Armagh in 1359. He published about thirty books, chiefly on divinity. He distinguished himself by opposing the pretensions of the mendicant orders. "I have," said he, "in my diocese of Armagh, above 2,000 persons who stand convicted by the censures of the Church as murderers, thieves, and suchlike malefactors, of all which number scarcely fourteen have applied to me for absolution; yet they all receive the Sacraments, as others do, because they are absolved or pretend to be absolved by the friars." Nor was this the only point in which he opposed them. He withstood their practice of begging, and maintained that it is every man's duty to support himself by honest labour; that it forms no part of Christian wisdom and holiness for men to profess themselves mendicants; that our Saviour never taught such a doctrine, and never practised it in His own person; that, though He was poor when on earth, he never begged. This struck at the root of their pretended sanctity, and greatly enraged them. Fitzraf was, therefore, cited by the friars to appear before Pope Innocent VI. He obeyed, and underwent a variety of hardships and persecutions, spending seven or eight years in exile, and at last dying at Avignon. A confession or prayer by him has been preserved, commencing thus:

"To Thee be praise, glory, and thanksgiving, O Jesus, most holy, most powerful, most amiable, Who hast said 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life'—a way without aberration, truth without a cloud, and a life without end. For Thou hast shown me the way, Thou hast taught me the truth, and Thou hast promised me life. Thou wast my way in exile, Thou wast my truth in counsel, and Thou wilt be my life in reward."

There were others who opposed the corruptions of the times, but one remarkable man to whom Wycliffe owed much deserves attention.

THOMAS BRADWARDINE

(Of Merton College, Oxford, Archbishop of Canterbury,
and named "The Profound").

This remarkable man was born about 1290 at Bradwardine Castle, Herefordshire. He was a very learned man, but especially excelled in mathematics and divinity. He was eminently a student, and exercised a wonderful influence by his writings. After some years as Professor of Divinity at Oxford, where many young men were influenced by his lectures, he went to reside with Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham. Promotion was pressed upon him; he became Chancellor of London and Chaplain to King Edward III., with whom he went to France; and so much was he valued for his faithful service that, when the Church of Canterbury unanimously elected him for their Archbishop, the King refused to part with him. John Ufford was then nominated, but he dying soon after, Bradwardine was a second time chosen. The King yielded; he was consecrated at Avignon, and returned soon after to England, but died of the plague seven days after his arrival at Lambeth, and was interred at Canterbury.

His work, "*De Causa Dei*," or "Concerning the Cause of God Against Pelagius," a folio of nearly 900 pages, not only shows how well he deserved the title "The Profound," but also how clearly he understood the writings of St. Paul and St. Augustine, and, in fact, anticipated the teaching of Luther and Calvin.

A few extracts may be interesting.

"Almost the whole world is gone after Pelagius in error. . . . Arise, O Lord, judge Thy own cause. . . . Sustain him who undertakes to defend Thy truth, for I trust in Thee alone."

"Man cannot merit anything, but as a generous man may give without any view to the merit of the receiver, so does God far more generously give to men."

He argues "that God is perfect in every way, hence His

will can never be frustrated . . . that nothing can move, or be moved, without God as the ultimate cause . . . that the knowledge of God does not depend on the thing known, but only on Himself, or He would not be perfect (yet there is a knowledge of God which signifies approbation, as 'Verily I say I know you not'); so Augustine: 'God knows all His creatures, not because they exist, for He was not ignorant of what He intended to create, but they exist because He foreknew them.' But the knowledge of God depends on His *will*; therefore all things are brought to pass by the providence of God." Further, quoting St. Augustine: "Though the Supreme Being is the origin of every train of causes, it by no means follows that nothing is in the power of the human will, for our wills themselves belong to that chain of causes which are definitely fixed and arranged in the Divine Mind; our wills have just so much power as God wills. . . . The human will cannot overcome a single temptation without Divine assistance; but this is not free will, but the unconquerable will of God. Every creature is indebted to God for various gifts, and man especially is accepted by the free grace of God alone.

"Now, the Pelagians say the grace is not given freely, but obtained by preceding merit; we are masters of our own actions, etc., say they all. Then he refers to his own experience, and that of St. Augustine when light dawned on him.

"God gives His grace freely, for if not, and only on account of some subordinate contingent cause, He could not foresee how He would bestow His free gifts. A genuine love of God requires us to employ every faculty we possess for the praise, honour, and glory of *God*."

JOHN WYCLIFFE

(The Morning Star of the Reformation, surnamed the "Evangelical Doctor").

John Wycliffe was born in the parish of Wycliffe, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, about 1324. He was attached to Merton College, and subsequently became Master or

Warden of Balliol in 1361, and probably Master of Canterbury Hall in 1365.

As Reader in Divinity he took an active part in pointing out the abuses of the Romish clergy, and the unscriptural character of the Mendicant Friars.

The demand of Pope Urban V., in the year 1366, that England should pay the thirty-three years' arrears of tribute which King John had bound himself to pay to the Roman See, and which had been successfully claimed before from Edward II., stirred the whole kingdom. Edward III., the victorious leader of the English at Cressy, supported by the Parliament and English Bishops, refused. Wycliffe, who was one of the King's chaplains, appears to have been consulted by the Government, and answered the challenge of a doctor of one of the monastic Orders by a series of able arguments against the claims of Rome. In 1374 he was sent to Bruges, with other commissioners, to confer with the envoys of Rome on some points of dispute at the same time as the Duke of Lancaster was negotiating there certain political questions. At the end of 1375 he was presented by the Crown to the Rectory of Lutterworth, and here and at Oxford he, by many writings and discourses, bore witness against the abuses of the day, while busily translating the Bible into the newly settled English language. But his enemies were not idle. On February 19, 1377, he was summoned to appear before the Bishop of London, Courtenay, son of the Duke of Devonshire, at St. Paul's, chiefly on political and social questions. The Duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy, Earl-Marshal, took his part; an excited crowd filled the streets and Church; Wycliffe and his friends could scarcely get in. An altercation between the Bishop and the nobles led to a riot, and before nine o'clock the meeting was broken up. Wycliffe escaped, but was forbidden to set forth his opinions. Four months later (June 21) Edward III. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Richard II., aged eleven years. Just before this (June 11) a Bull was addressed by Gregory XI. to the University of Oxford, which reached

England in November, commanding them to root out the "wild cockle" of "the damnable heresies of John Wycliffe," to imprison him and his favourers, with similar instructions by letters to the Archbishop, S. Sudbury, and the Bishop of London, with a list of his "heresies and errors." The result was Wycliffe was again summoned to appear at Lambeth, but he was again saved, not by the Duke of Lancaster, but by the citizens of London, who now took his part. Soon after this the Pope died (March, 1378), and for thirty-nine years ensued the strange conflict between two series of Popes mutually excommunicating one another, which strengthened the cause of Reformation.

Wycliffe now directed his denunciations more especially against the friars, and a wide field indeed opened before him. Their doings were a public scandal. Matthew Paris, writing only forty years after the institution of the new Orders, exclaimed: "It is terrible, it is an awful presage that in 300 or 400 years the old Orders have not so entirely degenerated as these fraternities." Wycliffe, 100 years later, while sympathizing with their original foundation, on similar lines to which he founded his own agency of "poor priests" or itinerant preachers, was keenly alive to their luxury, ignorance, and hypocrisy. The country was then filled with sumptuous buildings they had erected, robbing parish churches and the laity by the unscrupulous sale of indulgences and the encouragement of foolish superstitions. Thus *Piers Plowman* truly represents one of these friars, saying:

"I cannot Parfitte my Paternoster
As the Priest it singeth,
But I can Rhym of Robin Hood
And Randolf, Earl of Chester,
But of our Lord or our Lady
I learn nothing at all."

Their preaching was made up of fables, legends, and stories of the Siege of Troy, an example of which may be given:

"St. Anthony, a native of Lisbon, took the habit of the Franciscans, and while preaching one day at Padua a strange thing happened. At his native city the body of a young

man of noble birth, who had evidently been murdered, was found in the garden of Anthony's aged father, who was accused of the crime and sentenced to death. As he was being led to execution, lo! borne through the air by an angel, his son Anthony appeared, who immediately ordered the body to be produced, and obliged it to reveal the fact that on account of a mutual attachment between himself and a young lady of equal rank, but divided by a deadly family quarrel, her two brothers had waylaid, murdered, and then buried him in the old man's garden."

Another very famous miracle of this St. Anthony often pictorially represented in their churches was this :

A certain heretic, Boradilla, would not believe in the Real Presence in the Mass—nothing but a miracle, he declared, would convince him. St. Anthony when carrying the Host in procession met the mule of Boradilla. At the command of St. Anthony the mule fell down in a moment on its knees. Boradilla stood amazed ; he then tried to rouse the animal, but in vain ; then to tempt it aside with a sieve full of oats ; but no, the mule would not stir till the Host had passed.

Chaucer describes these preachers to the life :

" I ring it out as round as goeth a bell,
For I know all by rote that I tell.
I preachē so as ye have heard before,
And tellē them a hundred japes more.
Then tell I them examples many a one,
Of oldē stories longē timē gone
Is all my preaching, for to make them free
To give their pence, and namely unto me."

And not only to give, but also to buy all sorts of indulgences, viz., the Pope's pardons, and the Brotherhood's or Sisterhood's letters of fraternity, for all past sins, together with the merits of all the friars' intercessions, and, lastly, the privilege of being buried in a friar's frock.

" These pardoners
With boxes crammed as full of lies
As ever vessel was with lees,
. . . . and
His wallet lay before him in his lap,
Brimful of pardons from Rome all hot."

CHAUCER.

So likewise Piers Plowman describes "the spirit of worldliness" under the name of Mary Mede, of questionable character, who comes to confession to a friar and asks the terms of absolution. Her confessor tells her in confidence they have a painted glass window in their church, which, if she could but finish, they would absolve her from all her sins, put her name on the window, and make her sure of heaven. The terms were at once complied with.

In 1379 Wycliffe, while residing at Oxford, fell into a dangerous illness. Four doctors belonging to the mendicant orders, with as many aldermen, visited him, and urged him to recant, and retract his charges against the friars ere he died. He asked his attendant to raise him on his bed. Then, feeble and pale, he turned to them, and fixing on them a piercing look, exclaimed: "I shall not die, but live and again declare the evil deeds of the friars." They fled in confusion, and Wycliffe recovered.

In 1380 Wycliffe was denounced by a formal edict of the University, W. Barton being Vice-Chancellor, as a heretic for denying "Transubstantiation." It was suddenly sprung upon him. While he sat in the Augustine School, peacefully expounding the Scriptures, an officer came in and read the sentence of condemnation; but he was equal to the occasion, and boldly challenged their decision. But now many who were willing to side with him politically withdrew; the Duke of Lancaster urged him to submit, and deprecated his appeal to the King; and not only this, but his enemies began to take unfair advantage of the unsettled state of the country, accusing Wycliffe of stirring up the people against the law, for so great was the popular discontent that, in the insurrection of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, they even beheaded the Archbishop of Canterbury and occupied London with 100,000 men (June 14, 1381). In the heartless reprisals which followed these social troubles, the new Archbishop (Courtenay) was not slow to take more active measures against the "Lollards" and Wycliffe and his friends. Wycliffe, however, found a few years of repose at Lutterworth to finish his greatest work,

the translation of the Bible into English, and this he did, although he was constantly sending forth books and pamphlets, among which the *Triologue* or conversation between three persons, *Aletheia* (Truth), *Pseustis* (Falsehood), and *Phronesis* (Understanding), is perhaps the best known.

But the end was near. On December 29, 1384, he was in the church at Lutterworth in the midst of his flock, and was elevating the Host with trembling hands, when he fell on the pavement, struck with paralysis. He was carried home by affectionate friends, and resigned his soul to God on the last day of the year. "Wycliffe is the greatest English Reformer; in truth, the first Reformer of Christendom" (D'Aubigné).

Both the Eastern and Western, or Greek and Latin Churches, had long neglected the Holy Scriptures. Both forbade the translation into any vernacular tongue. They taught that it was injurious for the people at large to read it, and had solemnly condemned the Scriptures as a fruitful source of "heresy." At the Council of Toulouse, in 1229, which practically inaugurated the Inquisition, the Scriptures were forbidden.

"We also forbid the laity to possess any of the books of the Old or New Testament, except, perhaps, the Psalter or Breviary for the Divine Offices, or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, which some out of devotion wish to have; but having any of these books *translated* into the vulgar tongue *we strictly forbid*."

So also the Council at Tarragona in 1234 prohibited the Scriptures in the Romance tongue, and ordered such translations to be burnt.

Against all these discouragements, and many more, Wycliffe persevered, and had the satisfaction before his death of seeing the whole Bible completed. A friend of his, Nicolas de Hereford, assisted with the Old Testament, and the MSS. of his work is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, showing how he left it unfinished at Baruch iii. 20, when obliged to leave England on account of persecution in

1382. Wycliffe completed it, adding it to his New Testament, which had been finished in 1380.

It was rapidly copied, Oxford being a noted place, especially St. Michael's parish, for transcribers, illuminators, and bookbinders. It was surprising how far its influence was felt. A contemporary writes: "A man could not meet two men in the road but one was a disciple of Wycliffe." John of Gaunt encouraged the circulation of the Scriptures; it was through his influence that a Bill brought into Parliament in 1390 condemning Wycliffe's Bible, and prohibiting its circulation, was rejected, when he exclaimed, "We will not be the dregs of all." Queen Anne of Bohemia was commended by Archbishop Arundel in preaching her funeral sermon, for "she constantly studied the four Gospels in English."

The wide distribution of the written copies of the Bible is proved by the number that remain, when we recollect that for 150 years they were diligently sought for and burnt, and to possess a copy might bring anyone to the stake. Of the 170 copies in whole or in part that have come down to us, fifteen of the Old Testament and eighteen of the New belong to the original version; the remainder are Purvey's revision, the greater part having been written between 1420 and 1450, and nearly half are of small size, as if intended to be the reader's constant companion. One belonged to Humphrey, the "good" Duke of Gloucester; another to Henry VI., who gave it to the Charterhouse; another to Henry VII.; another to Edward VI.

Forty-one years after Wycliffe's death, in obedience to a decree of the Council of Constance, where his writings had been condemned, the bones of Wycliffe were taken up and burnt, and his ashes cast into the running stream. So Foxe remarks: "Though they digged up his body, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the Word of God and truth of his doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn, which yet to this day (for the most part of his articles) doth remain." And as Fuller says, the brook "conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn,

Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean, and thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine which now is dispersed all the world over."

A dark period of persecution for all Bible-readers followed the death of Wycliffe. They were strictly examined by the Bishops, imprisoned and tortured in many ways, and even when willing to abjure their opinions, put to such severe penance that it was truly said "men were in greater danger if they broke the Pope's lightest law than if they broke all God's commandments." What a *penance* really was may be gathered from a *letter* of Archbishop Courtenay concerning certain poor persons at Leicester :

"Seeing our holy Mother the Church denieth not to her lap any penitent child, returning to the unity of her, but rather proffereth to them the same. We therefore do receive again the said William and Roger and Alice to grace. And further have caused them to abjure all and singular the aforesaid articles and opinions, before they received of us the benefit of absolution, and were loosed from the sentence of excommunication wherein they were snarled, enjoining unto them Penance according to the quantity of the crime, in form as followeth, that is to say : 'That every one of them, the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, they the said Roger, William, and Alice holding every one a Crucifix in their right hands, and in their left hand every one of them a Taper of Wax, weighing half a pound weight ; in *their shirts*, having none other apparel upon them, do go before the Cross three times during the Procession of the Catholic Church of our Lady of Leicester, that is to say in the beginning of the Procession, in the middle of the procession, and in the latter end of the procession ; to the honour of Him that was crucified, the memorial of His passion, and to the honour of the Virgin His Mother ; who all devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling shall kiss the same Crucifix so held in their hands. And so with the same procession they entering again into the Church shall stand during all the time of the holy Mass before the Image of the Cross, with their

tapers and crosses in their hands. And when the Mass is ended, the said William, Roger, and Alice shall offer to him that celebrateth that day the Mass. Then upon the Saturday next ensuing the said William, Roger, and Alice shall, in the full and public Market within the town of Leicester, stand in like manner, in their shirts without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the foresaid crosses in their right hands, which crosses three times they shall during the market devoutly kiss, reverently kneeling upon their knees, that is in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the said William, for that he understandeth somewhat the Latin tongue, shall say this Anthem with the Collect, *Sancta Catherina*; and the foresaid Roger and Alice being unlearned shall say devoutly a *Paternoster* and an *Ave Maria*. And thirdly the Sunday immediately after the same the said William, Roger, and Alice in their Parish Church of the said town of Leicester shall stand and do as upon the Sunday before they stood and did in the Cathedral Church of Our Lady. And because of the cold weather that now is, lest the aforesaid penitents might peradventure take some bodily harm standing so long naked (being mindful to moderate partly the said our rigour), we give leave, That after their entrance into the Churches above said, whilst they shall be hearing the foresaid Masses, they may put on necessary garments to keep them warm, so that their heads and feet notwithstanding be bare and uncovered.' Given at Dorchester 17th Novr., 1389."

But greater severity was soon to be manifested, for the year 1400 became ever memorable in the annals of the English Church, for then was enacted the infamous statute "De Heretico Comburendo," for the burning of heretics, which in those unsettled times seems never to have received the sanction of the House of Commons, but was approved by King Henry IV., "at the request of the prelates and clergy." The truth was the King owed his position chiefly to Archbishop Arundel and the clergy, when Richard II. was deposed, and he found it necessary amid all the plots

and troubles of his insecure position to conciliate their goodwill. This act was set forth in Latin, and directed that anyone judged a heretic by the ecclesiastical authorities, unless he abjured, or absolutely in case of relapse, should be handed over to the secular authorities, and by them be burnt alive in some public place.

How such a law could be enforced seems almost incredible, but while they may have sometimes pleaded that the social order needed strong measures, the fact remains that the chief, if not the only, charge under which so many hundreds were burnt to death was for the denial of Transubstantiation, and that those who read the Bible were those against whom it was almost exclusively directed; for the wealthy and worldly prelates knew full well that neither the Bible nor the teaching of Wycliffe was consistent with their absolute rule. They would crush all opposition in the Church with the same relentless cruelty as in the State, and could not understand the more excellent sentiments of Wycliffe when he, far in advance of his age, declared :

“Christ wished His law to be observed willingly, freely, that in such obedience men might find happiness. Hence He appointed *no civil punishment* to be inflicted on the transgressors of His commandments, but left the persons neglecting them to the sufferings which shall come after the day of doom.”

No civil punishment for religion is a true Church principle, as the contrary is one of the surest marks that the Romish Communion is represented in Holy Scripture as “the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints” (Rev. xvii.).

WILLIAM SAWTRE, M.A. OXON

(The First English Martyr).

Sir William Sawtre, or Sautre, parish priest of St. Scithe the Virgin, or St. Osyth's, in London, and formerly of St. Margaret's, Lynn, in Norfolk, “at the Parliament holden

in Westminster, 1400, a good man and a faithful priest enflamed with the zeal of true religion, required that he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realm. But the matter being smelt before by the Bishops, they obtained that the matter should be referred to the Convocation, where the said William Sawtre was brought before them on Saturday, the 12th of February, when Thos. Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, charged him as being a relapsed heretic, his chief heresies being :

" 1st. That he would not worship the Cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered on the Cross.

" 2nd. That he would sooner worship a temporal King, than the foresaid wooden Cross.

" 3rd. That he would rather worship the bodies of the Saints, than the very Cross of Christ on which He hung, if it were before him.

" 4th. That he would rather worship a man truly contrite, than the Cross of Christ.

" 5th. That he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate than an Angel of God.

" 6th. That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket, or anywhere else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit, he is not bound to keep his vow, but that he may distribute the expenses of his vow upon the alms of the poor.

" 7th. That every Priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the Word of God than to say the Canonical Hours.

" 8th. That after pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the Bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, nor ceaseth to be Bread.

" Having been granted time to reply, on the following Thursday he was examined at length, especially upon the Sacrament of the Altar, from eight of the clock until eleven. Lastly, the Archbishop demanded whether he would stand to the determination of Holy Church or not, which affirmeth that in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of consecration being rightly pronounced by the priest, the same

bread, which before in nature was bread, ceaseth any more to be bread ? To this interrogation Sir William said that he would stand to the determination of the Church where such determination was not contrary to the Will of God. And no other answer would he give ; whereupon the said Archbishop did give sentence against the said William Sawtre in the following terms :

“ In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England and Legate of the See Apostolical, by the authority of God Almighty and blessed Saint Peter and Paul and of Holy Church and of our own authority, sitting for tribunal or chief Judge, having God alone before our eyes. By the counsel and consent of the whole Clergy our fellow-brethren and suffragans assistants unto us in this present council provincial, by this our sentence definitive, do pronounce, decree and declare by these presents thee William Sawtre, parish priest pretended, personally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of heresy, judicially and lawfully convicted as a heretic, and as a heretic to be punished.”

Accordingly, on Saturday, February 26, 1400, the Archbishop and six other Bishops proceeded to publicly degrade Sawtre in St. Paul's Cathedral from all clerical position and offices, and committed him as a layman to the secular authorities, beseeching them “ to receive him favourably,” knowing full well that they would receive that very day the King's Writ, concluding in these words :

“ We therefore being zealous in religion, and reverend lovers of the Catholic faith, command you as straitly as we may or can, firmly enjoining you that you do cause the said William being in your custody in some public or open place, within the liberties of your City aforesaid (the cause being published unto the people), to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burnt, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution thereof upon the peril that will fall thereupon.”

Foxe remarks : “ Thus it may appear how Kings and

Princes have been blinded and abused by the false Prelates of the Church, insomuch that they have been their slaves and butchers to slay Christ's poor innocent members. . . . After the martyrdom of this godly man, the rest of the same company began to keep themselves more closely for fear of the King, who was altogether bent to hold with the Pope's prelacy. Such was the reign of this prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions extreme, of few men heartily beloved."

A few years later we find a layman suffering in like manner—

JOHN BADBY

(Tailor, burnt in Smithfield 1409).

The principal crime alleged against him was, according to the Bishop's register, the denial of the Presence in the elements of bread and wine.

"The foresaid John Badby saith that the Sacrament of the body of Christ consecrated by the priest upon the altar is not the true body of Christ by the virtue of the words of the Sacrament, but that after the sacramental words spoken by the priest to make the body of Christ the material bread doth remain upon the Altar as in the beginning." Archbishop Arundel took great pains to persuade Badby that the Divine Presence was in the bread, but all in vain. Badby was clear in allowing the bread to be only a sacramental sign, saying: "I believe the Omnipotent God in Trinity to be one, but if every consecrated Host be the Lord's body, then there are twenty thousand Gods in England."

"John Badby, still persevering in his constancy unto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put into a tun or empty barrel, was bound with iron chains and fastened to a stake, having dry wood put about him. There were present the Prince, the King's eldest son, afterwards Henry V.; and Courtenay, Chancellor of Oxford, preached unto Badby, and informed him of the faith of Holy Church. In the mean season the Prior of St. Bartholo-

mew's in Smithfield brought with all solemnity the Sacrament of God's body with twelve torches borne before, and so showed the Sacrament to the poor man being at the stake. And they then demanded of him how he believed in it; he answered that 'he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not *God's body*.' Then was fire put unto him, and when he felt the fire he cried 'Mercy!' (calling belike upon the Lord), and so the Prince immediately commanded to take away the tun and quench the fire. The Prince's commandment being done, asked him if he would forsake heresy to take him to the faith of Holy Church, which thing if he would do he should have goods enough, promising also a yearly stipend. But this valiant Champion of Christ, neglecting the Prince's fair words, continued immovable in his former mind. The Prince commanded him straight to be put again into the pipe or tun, and that he should not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could not be allured by any offer of rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed by their torments, but as a valiant champion of Christ he persevered immovable unto the end" (Foxe).

It was a marvellous instance of the strength of Christ made perfect in weakness, and a striking proof that God hath chosen the weak things of this world to confound the wise, that a simple artificer should sustain the most cruel torments with patience and serenity, not only in defence of Divine truth, but also of common sense, whilst the most dignified characters in the kingdom, and amongst these the Prince of Wales, gloried in defending one of the most egregious absurdities that ever disgraced the human understanding.

What are all Henry's victories and triumphs, of which English history is so proud, compared with the *grace* which appeared in Badby?

Soon after Badby's death the King issued a proclamation, and Arundel the Archbishop his constitutions, both of the most severe kind, against Protestantism, threatening its total extinction. The persecutors were extremely active.

Wycliffe's followers were obliged to meet for worship in the open fields, but even this practice was construed into treason. At one of these meetings in St. Giles's Fields, according to Rapin, twenty were killed by the King's soldiers breaking in upon them, their preacher and many others taken prisoners, and afterwards put to death.

The natural dissatisfaction created by the tyranny of the Bishops increased, and matters grew serious in London. The eyes of both friends and foes turned to Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, who so openly and courageously had espoused the cause of Wycliffe.

Meanwhile Archbishop Arundel was not idle. A few years before he had found Oxford overrun with "heretics," and had strictly enjoined the heads of the colleges to diligently inquire once a month at least for all who questioned the determination of the Church, lamenting that "the fruitful vine of that Ancient University should now bring forth wild and bitter grapes, which hath set on edge the teeth of the children, and so our province is infected with unfruitful doctrines and with a damnable name of Lollardy."

After this he devises a new form of worship, called the tolling of *Aves*, in honour of our Lady, and issues his *mandate* as follows :

"*Thomas*, etc., to the Right reverend brother the Lord Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of London, greeting, etc. We, as the servants of our Lady's own inheritance and of her peculiar dower, ought more watchfully than others to show our devotion in praising her. Being on all sides so defended with the buckler of her protection, our happy estate may well be attributed only to the help of Her Medicine, to whom also we may worthily ascribe our deliverance from the ravening wolves and the mouths of cruel beasts, which had prepared against our banquets a mess of meat mingled full of gall, etc. [Does he mean the Bible - readers ?] Wherefore that she, being on high, sitting before the throne of the heavenly Majesty, the defendress and patroness of us all, being magnified with all men's praises, may more plentifully exhibit to us, the

sons of adoption, her *grace*. At the request of the special devotion of the King himself, we command your brotherhood straitly, enjoining you that you command the subjects of your city and diocese, and of all other suffragans, to *worship* our *Lady Mary*, the *Mother of God*, and our patroness and protectress in all adversity, with such-like kind of prayer and accustomed manner of ringing as the devotion of Christ's faithful people is wont to worship her at the ringing of Curfew. And when before day in the morning ye shall cause them to ring that with like manner of prayer and ringing she be everywhere honoured, etc. We therefore, coveting more earnestly to stir up the minds of all faithful people to so devout an exercise of God, do grant by these presents to all and every man that shall say the Lord's prayer and the salutation of the Angel five times at the morning peal with a devout mind, how oft soever, 40 days of pardon by these presents.

"Given under our seal in our manor of Lambeth the tenth day of Feb., 1405."

The reader has before him a fair specimen of the religion which put Sawtre and Badby to death. He may see also by the following the kind of spirit that religion fostered in the Bishops—how, contrary to Chaucer, "he waited after no pomp nor reverence":

"*A Commission to Suspend Certain Churches in London, because they Rung not their Bells at the Presence of My Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

"Thomas, by the permission of God, etc. To our well-beloved Thomas Wilton, our Somner sworn, health, grace, and blessing. The comeliness of our holy Church of Canterbury, over which we bear rule, deserveth and requireth that while we pass through the province of the same our Church, having our *Cross carried before us*, every parish Church in their turns ought and are bounden in token of special reverence that they bear to us to ring their bells. Which notwithstanding ye on Tuesday last past, when we

30 ARCHBISHOP ARUNDEL—LORD COBHAM

betwixt 8 and 9 of the clock before dinner passed openly on foot as it were through the midst of the city of London with our *Cross carried before us*, divers Churches whose names are here beneath noted showed towards us willingly (though they certainly knew of our coming) unreverence rather than reverence and the duty they owe to the Church of Canterbury, ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore we being willing to revenge this injury for the honour of our Spouse, as we are bounden, command you that by our authority you put all those Churches under our interdictment, suspending God's holy Organs and instruments in the same. Which we also suspend by the tenour of these presents till the Ministers of the aforesaid Churches be able hereafter to attain of us the benefit of more plentiful grace.

"Given at Lambeth," etc.

Henry IV. died in 1413 at Westminster, and his body was carried to Canterbury to be buried near the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. His son, Henry V., summoned his first Parliament after Easter the same year. At the same time, Arundel the Archbishop called a Synod of English clergy to meet at St. Paul's. "The chief and principal cause of the assembling thereof (as reporteth the Chronicle of St. Albans) was to repress the growing and spreading of the Gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy Lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal favourer, receiver, and maintainer of them misnamed by the Bishops Lollards" (Foxe).

LORD COBHAM

(Martyr, Oxon).

Lord Cobham was a favourite both with the King and the people, and therefore to effect his destruction was an effort which required much caution. The Archbishop's first step was to procure the royal mandate for sending Commissioners to Oxford, whose business should be to examine and report the progress of heresy. These twelve

Inquisitors found Oxford abounding in heretics. They were, indeed, received respectfully by the rulers of the University, but the opinions of Wycliffe had made their way among the junior students. This information Arundel laid before the convocation, who, after long debates, determined that, without delay, the Lord Cobham should be prosecuted as a heretic. They considered him as the great offender. To his influence they ascribed the growth of heresy. They said that he was not only an avowed heretic himself, but by stipends encouraged scholars from Oxford to propagate his opinions, many of which were in direct opposition to Holy Church. He had, we know, at great expense collected, transcribed, and dispersed the works of Wycliffe among the common people without reserve, and it was well known that he maintained a great number of itinerant preachers, particularly in the dioceses of London, Rochester, Canterbury, and Hereford.

Bishop Bale gives the following account: "Now let us describe what the true cause should be of this godly man's condemnation and death. The truth of it is that, after he had once thoroughly tasted the Christian doctrine of John Wycliffe and of his disciples, and perceived their living agreeable to the same, he abhorred all the superstitious ceremonies of the proud Roman Church. From thenceforth he brought all to the touchstone of God's Word. He tried all matters by the Scriptures, and so proved their spirit, whether they were of God or nay. He maintained such preachers as the Bishops were sore offended with. He exhorted the priests to a better way by the Gospel, and when that would not help he gave them sharp rebukes. He admonished Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. of the clergy's manifold abuses, and put into the Parliament House certain books concerning their just reformation both in the year 1395 and 1410.

"Another cause of his death was—he caused all the works of John Wycliffe to be written at the instance of John Huss, and so to be sent into Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other countries, whereof the Archbishop of

Prague caused two hundred volumes fairly written to be burnt.

“ Henry V. sent for the said Lord Cobham, and when he was come he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt themselves to submit himself to his Mother, the Holy Church, and as an obedient child acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom this Christian Knight made this answer : ‘ You most worthy prince, I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you to be a Christian King, and the appointed minister of God, bearing His righteous sword to the punishment of evil-doers and for the safeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you next to God I owe my whole obedience. But as touching the Pope and his Spirituality, truly I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the Great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place.’ When the King heard this he would talk no longer with him, but left him utterly, and gave the Archbishop authority to cite him and punish him according to the decrees which they call the laws of Holy Church.”

Extracts from the Examination of Lord Cobham before the Archbishop, Bishops of London, Winchester, Bangor, etc., September 25, 1413.

The Archbishop : “ Lord Cobham, I gently proffered to have absolved you if ye would have asked it, and yet I do the same if ye will humbly desire it in due form and manner as Holy Church hath ordained.”

Lord Cobham : “ Nay, forsooth, will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it.” And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and said : “ I shrive me here unto Thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended Thee, Lord, most grievously in pride, wrath, gluttony, etc. Good Lord, I ask Thee mercy.” And therewith weepingly he stood up again, and said with a mighty voice : “ Lo, good people—lo, for the breaking of

God's law and His commandments they never yet cursed me, but for their own laws and traditions most cruelly do they handle both me and other men, and therefore both they and their laws by the promise of God shall utterly be destroyed."

Then the Archbishop examined him of his Christian belief, whereunto he made answer : " I believe fully and faithfully the universal laws of God ; I believe that all is true which is contained in Holy Scripture ; finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe." Then asked they him if he believed not in the determination of the Church, etc., and he said : " No, forsooth, for it is no *God*. In all our creed is *in* but thrice mentioned concerning belief—*in* God the Father, *in* God the Son, *in* God the Holy Ghost. The birth, the death, the burial, the resurrection, and ascension of Christ hath none *in* for belief but *in Him*."

Then said one of the lawyers : " But what is your belief concerning Holy Church ?" The Lord Cobham answered : " My belief is, as I said before, that all the Scriptures of the Sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I believe thoroughly, for I know it is God's pleasure I should so do. But in your lordly laws and idle determinations I have no belief, for ye be no part of Christ's Holy Church, as your open deeds do show, but ye are very Antichrists obstinately set against His holy law and will."

This they said was an exceeding heresy not to believe in the determination of Holy Church. Then the Archbishop asked him what he thought " Holy Church."

He said : " My belief is that Holy Church is the number of them that shall be saved, of whom Christ is the Head, etc." Then read a Doctor : " Christ ordained St. Peter the Apostle to be His vicar here in earth, whose See is the Church of Rome, and He granted that the same power which He gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors." To this Lord Cobham answered : " He that followeth Peter nighest in pure living is next unto him in succession. But your lordly order esteemeth not the lowly behaviour of poor Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him."

Then said the Doctor again : " Holy Church hath determined that it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship holy relics and images of Saints approved by the Church of Rome. Sir, what say you to this ?" He answered : " I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them fair from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up from catching harm, or else to bury them fair in the ground, as ye do other aged people which are God's images. It is a wonderful thing that Saints, being dead, should become so covetous and needy and so bitterly beg which all their life hated begging. But this, I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your Confessions and Idols, your feigned Absolutions and Pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chief pleasures of all Christian realms." " Why, sir," said one of the Clerks, " will ye not worship good images ?" " What worship should I give unto them ?" said Lord Cobham. Then said Friar Palmer : " Sir, will ye worship the cross of Christ that He died upon ?" " Where is it ?" said Lord Cobham. The Friar said : " I put you the case, sir, that it were here even now before you." The Lord Cobham answered : " This is a great wise man to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himself knoweth not where the thing itself is. Yet once again I ask you, What worship I should do unto it ?" A Clerk said unto him : " Such worship as St. Paul speaketh of, ' God forbid that I should joy but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.' " Then said the Lord Cobham, and spread his arms abroad : " This is a very cross, yea, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created of God, yet will not I seek to have it worshipped." Then said the Bishop of London : " Sir, ye wot that he died on a material cross ?" The Lord Cobham said : " Yea, and I wot also that our salvation came not in by that material cross, but only by Him who died thereupon, and that holy St. Paul rejoiced in none other cross, but in Christ's passion and death only,

and in his own sufferings, etc." Another Clerk yet asked him : " Will ye, then, do none honour to the Holy Cross ?" He answered : " Yes, if he were mine I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scaths abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is nowadays."

Then said the Archbishop unto him : " Sir John, ye have spoken here many wonderful words, to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spirituality, giving a great ill example to the common sort here, to have us in the more disdain. We must now be at this short point with you : ye must either submit yourself to the ordinance of Holy Church, or else throw yourself (no remedy) into the most deep danger."

The Lord Cobham said : " I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me than ever I offended you in thus troubling me before this multitude." Then said the Archbishop : " We once again require you to have none other opinion in these matters than the universal faith and belief of the Holy Church of Rome, and so like an obedient child to return to the unity of your Mother." The Lord Cobham said expressly before them all : " I will none otherwise believe in these points than what I have told you. Do with me what ye will."

Finally, the Archbishop said : " Well, then, I see none other but that we must needs do the law ; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for a heretic." And with that the Archbishop stood up and read there a bill of his condemnation (already written out), all the clergy and laity veiling their bonnets. After that, before the whole multitude, Lord Cobham said with a most cheerful countenance : " Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan unto the soul of Job. He that created that will, of His infinite mercy and promise, save it, I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these Articles before rehearsed, *I will stand to them even to*

the very death by the grace of my eternal God." And there-with he turned him to the people, casting his hands abroad, and saying with a loud voice: "Good Christian people, for God's love be well aware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindlings into hell with themselves." After this he fell down there upon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holding up both his hands and eyes towards heaven, and saying: "Lord God eternal, I beseech Thee, for Thy great mercy's sake, to forgive my pursuers if it be Thy blessed will." And then he was delivered to Sir Robert Morley, and so led forth again to the Tower of London.

Some delay now occurred in executing the sentence, during which time there were many attempts made to destroy the good opinion still entertained towards Lord Cobham by setting forth a false account of a supposed recantation. By some means, however, he escaped from the Tower, and took shelter in Wales, where he continued for about four years, though great rewards were offered for his capture. His enemies now persuaded the King that he was gathering together a band of disloyal followers. They reported that the peaceful gatherings of the Lollards in St. Giles's Fields were seditious meetings, and especially on January 6, 1414, they carried word to the King, then at Eltham, that Lord Cobham was marching on London with 20,000 men to seize the King, and to put the Bishops and clergy to the sword. The King at once, with a few soldiers, hastened to the place, attacked a few hundred men assembled for worship, killed twenty, and took sixty prisoners, among whom was one Beverley, their preacher, who, with Sir Roger Acton and John Brown and others (about thirty-six), were burnt to death. So, while every effort was made to increase the King's displeasure, no real proof was found of any such incredible attempt to overthrow the Government either by the Lollards or by Lord Cobham himself.

After this the Bishops and priests were in much obloquy both of the nobility and commons. Then went they unto the King with a most grievous complaint that in every

quarter of the realm, by reason of Wycliffe's opinions and the said Lord Cobham, were contentious divisions. The Church, they said, was hated, the Bishops not obeyed, etc., and the cause of this was that the heretics and Lollards of Wycliffe's opinion were suffered to preach abroad so boldly, to gather conventicles unto them, to keep schools in men's houses, to make books, to make treatises and write ballads, to teach privately in corners, or in woods, fields, meadows, groves, and in caves of the ground. This would be, they said, a destruction of the Commonwealth, and an utter decay of the King's estate royal, if a remedy were not sought in time. Upon this complaint the King immediately called a Parliament at Leicester (1414); it might not be holden at Westminster in those days for the great favour Lord Cobham had in London. In the said Parliament the King made this most cruel Act to be as a law for ever: *That whosoever should read the Scriptures in the Mother tongue, which was then called Wycliffe's learning, they should forfeit land, cattle, body, life and goods from their heirs for ever, and so be condemned as heretics to God, enemies to the Crown, and traitors to the land.* Then were many taken in divers places, and suffered most cruel deaths. Many fled out of the land to Germany, Bohemia, France, or into the wilds of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.

In this year (February 20, 1414) died Thomas Arundel, who had been Archbishop of Canterbury more than thirty-two years, to the great destruction of Christian belief. Thomas Gascoyn, an old writer, in describing him, says: "He so bound the Word of the Lord that it should not be preached in his days." Yet died not his prodigious tyranny with him, but succeeded with his office in Henry Chicheley (founder of All Souls College), who not only encouraged Henry V. in his unjust and cruel wars in France, but for nearly thirty years waged an unrelenting war against all who loved to read the Word of God. He, with the aid of Lord Powis, Governor in Wales, at length treacherously apprehended Lord Cobham, who was thus brought to

38 LORD COBHAM—JOHN CLAYDON, MARTYR

London a prisoner, and appeared before the Lords of the Parliament, assembled to vote supplies for King Henry, then at war in France, and on December 18, 1417, was again condemned for heresy and treason by force of the aforementioned Act. Bishop Bale thus describes the closing scene :

“ Upon the day appointed, he was brought out of the Tower with his arms bound behind him, having a very cheerful countenance. Then was he laid upon a hurdle as though he had been a most heinous traitor to the Crown, and so drawn into St. Giles’s Fields, where they had set up a new pair of gallows. As he was come to the place of execution, and was taken from the hurdle, he fell down devoutly upon his knees, desiring Almighty God to forgive his enemies. Then stood he up and beheld the multitude, exhorting them to follow the laws of God written in the Scriptures, and in any wise to beware of such teachers as they see contrary to Christ in their conversation and living. Then was he hanged up there by the middle with chains, and so consumed in the fire, praising the name of God.”

The following account will show how the manuscripts were used and enlightened even those that could not read :

THE STORY OF JOHN CLAYDON

(Currier, Martyr ; burned in Smithfield, 1415).

On August 17, 1415, John Claydon, currier, of London, appeared before Henry Chicheley, Archbishop, and was accused of being suspected of heresy for the space of twenty years, during which time he had been imprisoned in the Fleet for three years, and then abjured all heresy, and now was apprehended for having certain books, and especially one found in his house, written in English, well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand, entitled “ The Lanthorne of Light.” He was asked whether he knew it. He confessed he did, because he had caused it, as well as others, to be *written at his own cost and charges* ; and, being asked whether he ever did read the same book,

confessed *he could not read*, but had heard the fourth part read by one John Fullar. Being asked whether he thought the same to be good, he answered that many things therein were, he thought, good and profitable to his soul, and he had a great affection for it, for a sermon preached at Horsley Down that was written therein. The book was accordingly given to certain doctors to be examined, and the sitting adjourned to the following Monday (August 20), when some fifteen articles were set forth as heretical, among which were stated: "That the Church of Rome was Antichristian, and that no reprobate was a member of the true Church of Christ; that material churches should not be decked with gold and silver and precious stones; that persecutions arose from the covetousness of the priests, and the insatiable begging of the Friars, with their high buildings; that alms were not virtuously given except to the honour of God, and of goods justly gotten; that priests should study the law of Christ and preach His Word rather than occupy themselves with chanting; that, as Judas received the body of Christ in bread, it remained bread after consecration; that indulgences and worship of images were unlawful, etc." For this they ordered the books to be burned, and proceeded to condemn to a like fate John Claydon as a relapsed heretic, and he was burnt in Smithfield.

The next year Archbishop Chicheley assembled a Convocation in London, when it was ordained as follows: "That the Archdeacons should twice in every year at the least inquire diligently after such persons as were suspected of heresy. And in every such their Archdeaconries wherein is reported any heretics to inhabit, they cause three or more of the honestest men of every such parish to take their oath upon the holy Evangelists, that if they shall know any differing in life or manners from the common conversation of other Catholic men, or else that hold any heresies or errors, or *else that have any suspected books in the English tongue*, or that do receive any such persons suspect of heresy into their houses, etc., they make certificate of those persons in writing unto the Archdeacons," etc.

Hereupon great inquisition followed in England, and many were brought to much trouble. One of the first was Lord Cobham's Chaplain, Robert Holbech, otherwise Chapel. He had some time before been excommunicated at St. Paul's Cross, and now, for preaching without a licence, appeared before the Archbishop on July 12, 1416, and is set to do penance at the same place ; but, instead of the common penance, is ordered to read to the people a declaration prepared for him, consisting of the following and such-like : " I confess that pilgrimages to the relics of Saints and to holy places are not prohibited, nor to be contemned of any Catholic, but are available for the remission of sins. I confess that auricular confession is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soul, and necessary to be done to such a priest as is ordained by the Church to hear the confession of a sinner to enjoin him penance, without which confession, where it may be had, there is no remission of sins to him who is in sin mortal."

Many others were grievously persecuted, forced to recant, imprisoned, and driven from their homes, especially in Kent. At this time died in France our King, Henry V. This King in all his life and doings was so devout and serviceable to the Pope that he was called the " Prince of Priests." After him succeeded his son, Henry VI., an infant.

In the first year of this King's reign (1422) was *burned*—

WILLIAM TAYLOR
(Priest, Martyr, 1422).

This constant witness-bearer of Christ's doctrine suffered under Henry Chicheley. He was accused of having taught at Bristol the following articles :

" 1st. That whosoever hangeth any Scripture about his neck (by way of charm) taketh away the honour due to God only, and giveth it to the devil.

" 2nd. That no human person is to be worshipped, but only God is to be adored.

"3rd. That Saints are not to be worshipped nor invoked."

These articles were condemned as heretical, and after long process he was condemned to be degraded and burned, and so was committed to the secular power. On March 1, 1422, after long imprisonment, did William Taylor consummate his martyrdom at Smithfield.

Norwich, too, at this date seems to have contained many Bible-readers, for one John Florence, a turner, was for heresy sentenced to the following penance: "Three Sundays in a solemn procession of Clergy in the Cathedral Church of Norwich he should be whipped before all the people. The like also should be done about his parish Church of Sheldon three other several Sundays, he being bareheaded, barefooted, and barenecked, after the manner of a public penitentiary, his body being covered with a canvas shirt and canvas breeches, carrying in his hand a Taper of a pound weight."

Richard Belward was accused of "keeping schools of Lollardy in the English tongue in the town of Dychingham, and that a certain parchment-maker bringeth him all the books containing that doctrine from London."

Besides these, there were many others in this diocese, so that in the space of three or four years (from 1428 to 1431) about 120 men and women sustained great vexation for the profession of the Christian faith, and at least three of the clergy were burned. One was—

THE REV. WILLIAM WHITE, OXON

(A Scholar of Wycliffe).

He was arrested under the King's warrant, and burned in Norwich in the year 1424. He was a clergyman, but "not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them of whom the wise man speaketh: 'He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud' (Ecclus. i. 6). This man was a learned,

upright, and well-spoken priest. He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman named Joane; notwithstanding he did not leave or cease from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of Christ by reading, writing, and preaching." The principal points of his doctrine were those which he was forced to recant at Canterbury: "That men should seek for the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God; that the wicked living of the Pope and His Holiness is nothing else but a devilish estate, and therefore he is an enemy unto Christ's truth; that men ought not to worship holy dead men nor images and paintings; that the Romish Church is the fig-tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed because it bringeth forth no fruit of the true belief; that such as wear cowls or be anointed and shorn are the lance-knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out when the Lord Christ shall come."

These articles he was forced to recant, but afterwards going into Norfolk, and there teaching the Word of God, he was condemned before William, Bishop of Norwich, and there burned in September, 1428.

This man was of so devout and holy a life that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them, insomuch that one Margaret Wright confessed that if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than any other. When he was come to the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak unto the people to exhort and confirm them in the truth, one of the Bishop's servants struck him in the mouth, thereby to force him to keep silence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life, to the great grief of all the good men of Norfolk. His wife, following her husband's footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth, wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the same Bishop.

About the same time also were burned Father Abraham,

of Colchester, and John Waddon, priest, for the like articles.

A large number of those persons apprehended were made to do penance of the most degrading kind, the official orders for which are preserved, thus :

THE BISHOP OF NORWICH'S ORDER FOR A WHIPPING
PENANCE (1428).

“ William, by the sufferance of God, to our well-beloved sons in Christ the Dean of Rhodenhall and to the Parish Priest of the Church of Aldborough health, grace, and benediction. Forasmuch as we, according to our office, lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the souls of Thomas Pye and John Mendham, of Aldboro' aforesaid, because they have holden, believed, and affirmed many errors and heresies contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome, and the universal Church, and Catholic faith, have enjoined the said Thomas and John this Penance hereunder written as justice doth require—that is to say, *six fustigations or disciplinings* about the Parish Church of Aldborough before a solemn procession, six several Sundays, and three *disciplinings* about the Market Place of Harlston of our Diocese three principal market days with bare necks, heads, legs, and feet, their bodies being covered only with their *shirts* and *breeches*, either of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the Church as about the Market Place, which *tapers* the last Sunday after their penance finished we will that the said John and Thomas do humbly and devoutly *offer* unto the High Altar of the Parish Church at offertory the same day.”

The Diocesan Registers of this period throw more light on the progress of Scriptural divinity among the common people than any other records. Truly, Wycliffe's manuscript Gospels were quietly leavening all England.

Among many accusations we read of such as these :

William Wright deposed “ that W. Taylor, of Ludney, was of that sect, and went to London with Sir Hugh Pye

(priest), and had conversation oft-times with Sir William White (priest and martyr), having often conference upon the Lollards' doctrine.

"Item. That Anise, wife of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and favoured them, and also the daughter of Thomas Moon is partly of the same sect, and can read English.

"Item. That Sir Hugh Pye bequeathed to Alice, servant to Wm. White, a New Testament.

"Item. That Richard Fletcher, of Beckils, is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can well understand and perfectly expound the Holy Scriptures, and hath a book of that *new law* in English.

"Item. That Nicholas Belward, of Southelham, is one of that sect, and *hath a New Testament* which he *bought in London for four marks and forty pence*, and taught this deponent and his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament.

"Item. This deponent saith, that it is read in the Prophecies among the Lollards that the sect of Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed, notwithstanding at the length the Lollards shall prevail and have the victory against their enemies."

In the next year (1430) we read of many more set to do like penances; among the rest one gentleman, Thomas Moon, of Ludney, was whipped for heresy, because he had received, comforted, supported, and maintained many heretics, as Sir William White, priest; Sir Hugh Pye, Thomas Pert, and William Callis, priests. Also his servant, John Burrel, did penance at the same time. Besides these, we hear from time to time of burning at the stake. For instance, in this year (1430) *Richard Hoveden*, woolwinder and citizen of London, received the crown of martyrdom, being burned hard by the Tower of London, as *Fabian* recordeth, who also relates how one *Thomas Bagley*, priest, was burnt the next year in Smithfield, and one *Richard Wyche*, priest, was burned in the month of June, 1439, near the Tower, for heresy.

We come now to a very important period—

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING (1450).

It is generally acknowledged that the printed Latin Bible found in the Mazarin Library in Paris in 1760 (hence called the Mazarin Bible) was the first book printed with movable metal types, between the years 1450 and 1455 (for it has no date). It was a work of 1,282 pages, finely executed. The types were in brass, cut by hand, and eighteen copies of it are known, four on vellum, fourteen on paper. A vellum copy was sold for £3,400, one on paper for £2,690. Thus, as if to mark the noblest purpose to which the art could be applied, the first book printed with movable metal types, and so beautifully, was the *Bible*. In 1488 the Old Testament was printed in Hebrew, and some thirty years after the New Testament in Greek; but it was not until Tyndale gave the world his printed translation that the full benefit was felt by the people at large.

The Wars of the Roses seem to have occupied the attention of the authorities, and given a temporary check to much of the persecutions, yet we meet with one case of burning in the reign of Edward IV.—August, 1473—when *John Goose* was burnt at Tower Hill. The Sheriff, who had been appointed to see him burnt in the afternoon, took him home to his house, and exhorted him to deny his errors; but after long exhortation heard, he desired the Sheriff to be content, for he was satisfied in his conscience, but rather for God's sake to give him some meat, seeing that he was very sore hungered. Then the Sheriff commanded him meat, whereof he took, and did eat as though he was in no manner of danger, and said: "I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower ere I go to supper." And when he had dined *he gave thanks*, and required that he might shortly be led to the place where he should yield up his spirit to God.

After the first few years of Henry VII.'s reign the kingdom settled down, and civil discord ceased. Then the rulers in the Church turned their attention to the repression

of heresy, as it was called ; for in the ninth year of King Henry VII. the *first woman* in England, a *very old lady*, was burnt, named

JOAN BOUGHTON

(Widow, aged Eighty).

“Joan Boughton, mother to the Lady Young (who also was burnt some time after), was burnt in Smithfield, April 28, 1494, for holding Wycliffe’s opinions. She was a disciple of Wycliffe, whom she accounted for a saint, and she held so fast to eight of his twelve opinions that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them ; and when it was told her she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them ; for she said she was so beloved of God and His holy angels that she passed not for the fire, and in the midst thereof she cried upon God to take her soul into His holy hands. The night following that she was burnt the most part of her *ashes* were had away of such as had a love unto the doctrine that she died for.”

In the following years we find a priest burnt at Canterbury, in May, 1498 ; a godly man named Babram in Norfolk, June, 1499 ; an old man in Smithfield, July 20, 1500. Many were compelled to abjure and to bear faggots, and on one occasion “there went thirteen Lollards afore the procession at Paul’s, and there were of them eight women and a young lad, and the lad’s mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bear faggots on their necks afore the procession.”

Reader, let us here pause for a moment before reading the story of the next martyrdom ; afterwards we shall be ready to exclaim with Cowper :

“What man, seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush—
And hang his head to think himself a man.”

We have traced through the last half-century a little of the persecution even to cruel deaths of many of Wycliffe’s

Bible-readers. Dreadful were the torments inflicted, and by whom? By Turks, infidels, or heathen? No; by Christians, clergymen calling themselves "The Church," men claiming to be successors of the Apostles of our Saviour. Truly we may exclaim with the first Protestant Bishop of Durham: "If they claim to be Judas' successors, we will not quarrel with them." Remember, reader, that our object is to illustrate *real Church of England principles* in contrast and in contest with Popery—those principles for which so many of our Oxford worthies fought and died.

The religious principles of the persecutors are evident from their actions. Slaves themselves to a material and heartless sacramental system, they pleaded that their authority for acting so cruelly was conferred on them by virtue of the Sacrament of Orders, or Apostolical succession, and the crimes alleged were (besides wishing to possess the Scriptures) merely a denial of, and opposition offered to, this unscriptural sacramental system; and their hatred of the Bible in English arose largely from its evident power to overthrow this priestly tyranny. We have seen how this mechanical system can and does harden the heart, darken the understanding, and quench all real charity and fellow-feeling by daring to burn the Word of God and its readers. We look back at these facts in history, and should naturally conclude that death at the stake was the extreme point of their cruelty to simple Christians for reading their Bible. But no. The Inquisition, which had for two hundred years been inventing and devising refinements in torturing Protestants, contrived many ways of making death by fire more bitter and trying to human nature. What will the reader say to this?

AN ONLY DAUGHTER MADE TO SET FIRE TO HER OWN
FATHER—WILLIAM TILSWORTH
(Martyr).

In the year 1506, and in Henry VII.'s reign, William Tilsworth was burnt in a close called Stanley, at Amersham,

Bucks, and his only daughter, Joan Clerk (for she was married), a "faithful woman," was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father, while at the same time her husband, John Clerk, did penance, together with some sixty others, by bearing a faggot at her father's burning, who afterwards were compelled to wear certain badges, and do penance in the neighbouring towns of Buckingham, Aylesbury, etc. For the truth of this Foxe cites two witnesses living in his day (sixty years after), viz., William Page, who was one who bore a faggot and was burned in the cheek, and another, Agnes Weston, who also mentioned that one of those that bare a faggot was Robert Bartlet, a rich man, who was condemned to the loss of all his goods, and to be kept in the monastery of Ashridge for seven years, wearing on his right sleeve a badge of square cloth. About the same time was burnt one Father Roberts at Buckingham, a miller of Missenden, and at whose burning some twenty persons did penance; while two or three years after two were burnt at Amersham together—Thomas Barnard, a husbandman, and James Mordon, a labourer. Another man, Father Rogers, was put in the Bishop's prison fourteen weeks, where he was so cruelly used that on coming out he could never walk upright again; and some thirty men of Amersham, for talking against superstition and desiring to read the Scriptures, were tied fast to posts and burnt with red-hot irons on their cheeks.

Another Amersham man, Thomas Chase, a godly, honest man, was brought before the Bishop at Woburn, and after examination was put in the Bishop's prison called "Little Ease," and bound with chains, gyves, manacles, and irons, and there tormented, and at last murdered in prison, while they who did it set it forth as if he had hanged himself; but this was impossible, as he was so loaded hand and foot with irons and set in a place where he could neither lie down nor stand upright, yet they caused him to be buried in a wood called Norland Wood, in the highway betwixt Woburn and Little Marlow.

We find various other martyrs at this period before

Henry VIII. came to the throne, one of whom was Lawrence Ghest, burnt in Salisbury after an imprisonment of two years. When brought out to die, his wife and seven children were brought out to induce him to recant, but he continued steadfast in the faith ; when one of the Bishop's men threw a firebrand in the martyr's face, his brother ran at him and would have slain him with his dagger had he not been prevented.

Thus, at the close of Henry VII.'s reign we find great numbers suffering for the truth, and so it continued through the greater part of the thirty-eight years of Henry VIII.'s reign (1509 to 1547). The Bible had to make its way, in spite of King and clergy, through years of patient suffering and barbarous cruelty.

The diocesan registers of Fitzjames, Bishop of London, at Henry's accession disclose the names of many suffering Christians and the cause of their sufferings. For example, Richard Butler was accused that "upon a certain night about the space of three years past, in Robert Durant's house of Iver Court, near Staines, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy, all that same night, *certain chapters of the Evangelists in English*, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions, in presence of," etc. Foxe remarks on this : "We may easily judge what reverence they which yet will be counted the true and only Church of Christ did bear to *the Word and Gospel of Christ*."

Likewise, soon after, when Cuthbert Tonstall was Bishop of London, John Higges, or Johnson, was accused for having the four Evangelists in English, and for saying that Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies. This is the first time we meet with Luther's name in the registers. We shall now very soon lose sight of the old name of "Lollard" and "Wycliffite," and hear of the term "Lutheran" as a reproachful mark of Bible Christians.

We come now to the martyrdom of—

JOHN SWEETING AND JOHN BREWSTER
(Burned in Smithfield, October 18, 1511).

The usual accusations were made concerning their faith in the Sacrament, and for reading forbidden books, but more especially were they condemned to *death* for putting off the painted faggots which they were enjoined to wear at their first abjuring, as badges for the rest of their lives, or as long as their Bishop might appoint; yet in both cases they could plead a fair excuse. Sweeting, being compelled to leave home, came to Colchester, and there the parson of the parish appointed him Holy Water Clerk, and took from him the badge on his appointment to that office. The other, Brewster, left off his at the command of the Comptroller of the Earl of Oxford's house, who, hiring the poor man, would not suffer him to wear it. So the saying was common among poor men, "Put it off and be burned; keep it on and be starved." Such was the cruel handling of those who submitted to their rule.

RICHARD HUNNE
(Martyr).

There was in the year 1514 one Richard Hunne, merchant-tailor, dwelling within the city of London, and freeman of the same, who was so esteemed during his life for a man of true dealing, good substance, and a good Catholic man. This Richard Hunne had a child at nurse in Middlesex which died when five weeks old. The parson of the parish sued the said Richard Hunne in the Spiritual Court for a bearing-sheet which he claimed as a mortuary for the child. Whereupon the said Richard Hunne was forced to take counsel of the learned in the law. When the rest of the priestly order heard of it they were greatly displeased, and disdaining that any layman should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them, and fearing also that,

if they should now suffer this, there would be a liberty opened to all others of the laity to do the like, they straight-way, to stop him, sought, and at length found, means how to accuse him of heresy unto the Bishop of London, and so they did. The Bishop caused him to be apprehended and committed unto prison within the Lollards' Tower, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come unto him. The chief crime laid to his charge was this :

"Item. That the said Richard Hunne hath in his keeping divers English books, prohibited and damned by the law, as the Apocalypse in English, the Epistles and Gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily."

Here follows in Foxe's history a series of official documents and a most elaborate investigation of one of the darkest deeds ever committed in England, proving by the verdict of the coroner's inquest, by Parliamentary debate, and effectual interference, and, finally, by King Henry's own decision, the truth of the following summary of this horrid case of murder. After Hunne had been examined on the charge of heresy he was sent back to the Lollards' Tower. Two days afterwards he was found dead in his cell. The citizens of London insisted on an inquest, which made the most careful inquiry, finding the Bishop's Chancellor and two others guilty of first strangling Hunne and then hanging his body up to make it appear that it was his own act. While this investigation was going on, the Bishop of London, to screen his Chancellor, instituted fresh proceedings against *the dead body*. The Bishop had obtained possession of Hunne's Bible, one of Wycliffe's, written with a preface to it, and from this preface a number of alleged heresies were gathered ; the principal were the three last—viz. :

"11 Item. He saith that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, but that men receiving it shall thereby keep in mind that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

" 12 Item. He damned the University of Oxford, with all its degrees and faculties in it, as Art, Civil, Canon, and Divinity, saying that they hindered the true way to come to the laws of God and Holy Scripture.

" 13 Item. He defendeth the translation of the Bible and Holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our Mother, Holy Church."

The Bishop's registers say that on December 16, 1514, three Bishops and twenty-five doctors, abbots, and priors sat in judgment on the dead body, openly challenging anyone to come forward to defend the heresies laid to its charge ; but, no one appearing, they condemned the body of heresy, and ordered it to be burnt, which was accordingly done in Smithfield on December 20, being sixteen days after the murder. Nevertheless, the citizens of London, with the verdict of the twenty-four jurymen sealed with the coroner's seal, charging the Bishop's Chancellor and his two assistants by name with the wilful murder, upon the confession of one of them, laid the case before Parliament. On the other hand, the Bishop of London and Cardinal Wolsey interceded with the King on behalf of the accused. The result was the Chancellor's life was spared, and he left London. But the King issued his warrant—" To those that were the cruel murderers, commanding them upon his high displeasure to redeliver up all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hunne ; all which goods came to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, beside his plate and other jewels."

JOHN BROWN

(A Blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus ; burned at Ashford by Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fisher of Rochester, 1517).

The first occasion of the trouble of this servant of God was by a certain priest sitting in a Gravesend barge, who, displeased that Brown should sit so near him, with a disdainful countenance asked him : " Dost thou know who

I am ? Thou sittest too near me ; thou sittest on my clothes." " No, sir," said the other, " I know not what you are." " I tell you," quoth he, " I am a priest." " What, sir, are you a parson, or vicar, or some lady's chaplain ?" " No," quoth he, " I am a soul-priest ; I sing for a soul." " Do you so, sir ? That is well done. I pray you, sir," said he, " where find you the soul when you go to Mass ?" " I cannot tell thee," said the priest. " I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the Mass is done ?" " I cannot tell thee," said the priest. " Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to Mass, nor where you leave it when the Mass is done ; how can *you, then, save the soul ?*" said he. " Go thy ways," said the priest ; " I perceive thou art a *heretic*, and *I will be even with thee.*" So at the landing the priest, taking with him Walter Moore and William Moore, two gentlemen and brethren, rode straightways to the Archbishop Warham.

Within three days after, as John Brown was bringing in a mess of pottage to his house, where his friends had met after his wife's churching that day, he was suddenly arrested by Chilton of Wey, a baily-arrant, and one Beare of Willesborough, with two of the Bishop's servants, and set on his own horse, with his feet bound together, and so brought to Canterbury, neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went, and there continued for forty days ; and on the Friday before Whitsunday (his wife not knowing all this time where he was) he was brought back to Ashford, and there set in the stocks overnight, ready to be burnt to death on the morrow. It so happened that a young maid of his house saw her master there in the stocks, and ran home and told her mistress. His wife thus found him, appointed to be burnt next day, and *she sat by his side all night long.* To whom he declared the whole story, how he was handled, and that the Archbishop and Bishop Fisher had *set his bare feet on hot burning coals till they were burnt to the bones*, so that he could not set them on the ground, " to make me," said he, " deny my Lord, which I will never do ; for if I deny my Lord in this world,

He would hereafter deny me. I pray thee, therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously, and in the fear of God." And so the next day this godly man was burned.

Standing at the stake, he said this prayer, holding up his hands :

" O Lord, I yield me to Thy grace ;
Grant me mercy for my trespass ;
Let never the fiend my soul chase.
Lord, I will bow and Thou shalt beat ;
Let never my soul come in hell heat.

" Into Thy hands I commend my spirit ; Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth."

" This story," saith Foxe, " the said Elizabeth Brown, his wife, did oft-times repeat to Alice her daughter, who, dwelling yet in the parish of St. Pulcher's, testified the narration thereof unto me and certain other, upon whose credible information I have recorded the same." It is to be noted that John Brown bare a faggot seven years in the reign of Henry VII. It is remarkable that his son, named John (Richard), for the like cause of religion was imprisoned at Canterbury in the time of Queen Mary, and should have been burned with two more the next day after the death of Queen Mary, but that, by the proclaiming of Queen Elizabeth, they escaped.

The registers of 1517 give the names of many of whom Foxe says : " Although they lacked then public authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the Gospel, which the Lord's merciful grace has given us now, yet in secret knowledge and understanding they seemed then little or nothing inferior to these our times of public reformation. As a specimen of their clear Scriptural views on the Sacrament as opposed to Popery, one woman, Elizabeth Stamford, confessed to the Bishop of London that she was taught by one Thomas Beele, dwelling at Henley, that " the wisely discerning the Lord's body is not by chewing of the teeth, but by hearing with ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working thereafter."

This woman, and many other men and women, were made to do penance for having in their possession English books; such as the following, "The Book of the Four Evangelists," "The Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter," "The Epistle of St. James," "The Book of Revelation," "The Book of the Ten Commandments," Wycliffe's "Wicket," etc.

Some of those who through weakness submitted afterwards recovered strength, and suffered death for Bible principles. One was—

JOHN STILMAN

(Martyr, 1518).

On October 25, John Stilman was burnt at Smithfield as a relapsed heretic. The Bishop's register gives the Vicar-General's charges against him, such as—

"I object unto you that one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteen or fifteen years past, did read unto you Wycliffe's 'Wicket,' and instructed you that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the body of Christ; also that you have divers times read the said book, and one other book of the Ten Commandments which the said R. Smart did give you. That you did hide them in an oak, and did not reveal them unto the Bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abjured of heresy about eleven years since; also you be not only impenitent, disobedient and relapsed, but also, since your last attachment, you have spoken erroneous and damnable words before my Lord of London and me, saying that you were sorry that ever you did abjure your said opinions, and had not then suffered manfully for them, for they were, and be, good and true, and therefore you will now abide by them to die for it. And, furthermore, you have spoken against our Holy Father the Pope and his authority damnably, saying that he is Antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christ's Vicar on earth, and that his pardons and indulgences which be granted in the Sacrament of Penance are nought, and you will none of them, etc."

THOMAS MANN, OF OXFORD

(Martyr).

Thomas Mann was burnt in Smithfield on March 29, 1518. He had been apprehended for the profession of the Gospel about six years before, and brought before the Bishop of Lincoln, in which diocese Oxford then was included (there being no bishopric of Oxford at that time). He was charged with denying Auricular confession, Extreme Unction, the Divine Presence in the Bread and Wine, Apostolical Succession—in fact, the greater part of the sacramental system, for which he was sentenced “not only to make his open recantation, but also from thenceforth to remain as prisoner within the monastery of Osney, beside Oxford, and so to bear a faggot before the first Cross at the next general Procession within the University.” Afterwards he was removed to the Priory of St. Frideswide at Oxford, there to remain within the said priory, and not to depart thence without licence of the Prior upon pain of relapse; and he was also to wear the sign of a faggot on his uppermost garment. Nevertheless, he, spying his opportunity, fled the diocese and jurisdiction of Lincoln, and abode sometimes in Essex, sometimes in Suffolk, where he associated with such godly professors of Christ’s Gospel as he there could hear of. But within a few years after he was accused of relapse, apprehended, and brought before the Bishop of London.

Proceedings were instituted by the Bishop’s Chancellor in St. Paul’s, the charges the same as before, with the addition of “also, since his abjuration, he had said that he and his wife had turned six or seven hundred people unto those opinions.” The evidence against Mann, as well as his own confession, throw some light on the way in which the Gospel was carried about in those dark times. Thus it appears by the registers that he had been in divers places and counties in England, and had instructed very many, as at Amersham, London, Billericay, Chelmsford,

Stratford, Uxbridge, Burnham, Henley-on-Thames, Newbury in Suffolk, Norfolk, etc.

He testified that as he went westward he found a great company of well-disposed persons of the same judgment touching the Sacrament as he was of, and especially at Newbury, where was, as he confessed, a glorious and sweet society of faithful favourers who had continued the space of fifteen years together, till at last, by a certain person, whom they trusted, they were betrayed, and then many of them, to the number of six or seven score, were abjured, and three or four of them burnt. From thence he came to the Forest of Windsor, when, hearing of the brethren which were at Amersham, he removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company which had continued in that doctrine and teaching twenty years and more. And this congregation of Buckinghamshire men remained till the time of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, and his "*Abjuratio Magna*," or Great Abjuration.

They that were noted of that doctrine and profession were called by the name of "*Known men*," or "*Just fast men*." They had four principal readers or instructors—Tilsworth, who was burnt at Amersham; Thomas Chase, murdered in the Bishop's prison at Woburn, who was also called Dr. Chase; the third was this Thomas Mann, called also Doctor, who was burnt in Smithfield, 1518. He was God's champion, and suffered much trouble by the priests for the cause and the law of God. He confessed that he had turned 700 people to his religion and doctrine, for which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couples of men and women from Amersham, etc., where they dwelt, unto Norfolk and Suffolk, that they might be brought, as he termed it, "*out of the Devil's mouth*." The fourth teacher was Robert Cosin, also martyr, named among them Dr. Cosin, who was put to death for teaching the people not to worship images or go on pilgrimage, and he had told a woman she needed not confess herself unto a priest, but to lift up her hands to heaven, and that she might as well take refreshment on Sunday before Mass as on any other

day ; also, when she vowed a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, he dissuaded her from the same.

While thus an increasing number of persons were diligently searching the Scriptures, a systematic and far-reaching persecution broke out under John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln. By compelling men, women, and children to give information against their neighbours, and even their nearest relations, an incredible number of persons were brought forth for examination, and straitly handled ; some were burned, others put to grievous penances. The year 1521 saw more than " 500 men, women, and maydens " set to do penance by one Bishop.

A few examples taken from the registers may be given :

" Richard Bartlet, by his oath, was constrained to detect his sister Agnes, first, for learning the Epistle of St. James in English ; secondly, for not believing the bodily presence in the Sacrament ; thirdly, for speaking against worshipping of images and going on pilgrimages. This Richard Bartlet was compelled to detect his own father."

" James Morden was compelled to detect Agnes Ashford of Chesham. The cause laid to this Agnes was for teaching this James Morden these passages of Scripture : ' We be the salt of the earth,' etc. ; ' So shine your light before men as they may see your works and glorify the Father which is in heaven ' ; ' No tittle or letter of the law shall pass over till all things be done.' And *five* times he went to the fore-said Agnes to learn *this lesson*. Also she did teach him this lesson : ' Jesus, seeing His people as He went up to a hill, was set, and His disciples came to Him, and He opened his mouth and taught them, saying, Blessed be the poor men in spirit, for the kingdom of heaven is theirs ; blessed be the mild men, for they shall weld the earth.' And twice he came to her to learn this lesson."

" James Morden at the same time informed against his own sister, Maria Morden."

He also confessed " that he used his Paternoster and Creed so much in English that he had forgotten many words thereof in Latin, and therefore *was enjoined by Bishop*

Smith to say it no more in English, but only in Latin, and because he kept not this injunction he fell in relapse."

Jenkin Butler did impeach John Butler, his own brother, for reading to him in a certain book of the Scripture and persuading him to hearken.

John Collins, of Burford, accused his own natural father as follows: "That for eight years past this Thomas Collins, his father, had taught him, his son, in the presence of his mother, the Ten Commandments, and that he should have but one God, and should worship *nothing* but God alone, and to worship Saints and go on pilgrimages was idolatry; also that he should not worship the Sacrament of the Altar as God, for that was but a token of the Lord's body."

The examinations of the compelled witnesses against their co-religionists are interesting as disclosing the means used by them for acquiring knowledge, as well as the Bishop's methods for obstructing and suppressing it.

Thus, Alice Brown was forced by her oath to detect John Tracher, of Chesham, for teaching her in the Gospel this saying of Jesus, "Blessed are they which hear the Word of God and keep it," and also because he taught her the eight Beatitudes.

Thomas Mann was appeached because he read to John Butler ten years ago how Adam and Eve were expelled out of Paradise; also for speaking against pilgrimages, worshipping of images, and against singing (chanting) service used in the Church.

Alice Holding was accused for that she did dine before she went to church to take her rites, saying that I. Tracher told her that she might dine before receiving the Sacrament.

Richard Vulford, of Ruslip, charged with speaking against pilgrimages, oblations to images, and against the Presence in the Sacrament. When his accuser, John Clerk, had made a whele for fish, Richard Vulford, coming in, had asked him "whether, when he had made the whele, the whele could turn again and make him?" and he answered: "No." "Even so," quoth he, "God hath made all priests, as thou hast made the whele, and how can they turn again and make God?"

John Barret, goldsmith, of London; Joan Barret, his wife; and Joan, his servant, were cited because he was heard in his own house, before his wife and maid there present, to recite the Epistle of St. James, which Epistle, with many other things, he had perfectly without book.

Robert Pope for having certain English books.

Andrew Randel and wife for reading Wycliffe's "Wicket."

John Phipps for "being very ripe in the Scriptures, and for being a reader and rehearser to others."

From these few instances the reader can form an idea of the nature of the offences for which they were punished. Foxe says, "They were known among themselves by the name of 'Known men,' as now they are called by the name of 'Protestants'"; and goes on to say: "As they were simple and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty Serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtlety did so circumvent them that they caused the wife to detect the husband, the Husband the Wife, the Father the Daughter, the Daughter the Father, the Brother to disclose the Brother, and Neighbour the Neighbour. Neither were there any assemblies or readings kept, but both the persons and also the books were known; neither was any word so closely spoken nor article mentioned but it was discovered. The first offence was punished by Penance, which was mostly after one fashion, except that they were severally sent to divers monasteries or abbeys, as Osney, Frideswide, Abingdon, Thame, Bicester, Dorchester, Netley, Ashridge, etc., for example."

BISHOP LONGLAND'S LETTER TO THE ABBOT OF ENSHAM.

"MY LOVING BROTHER,—I recommend me heartily unto you, And whereas I have, according to the law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetual penance within your Monastery at Ensham, there to live as a Penitent, and not otherwise, I pray you, and nevertheless according to the law command you to receive him, and see ye order him there, according to his injunctions, which he will show you, if ye require the

same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him, and for his meat and drink he may have such as ye give of your alms. And if he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business whereby he may deserve his meat and drink, so may you order him as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he pass not the precincts of your Monastery. And thus fare ye heartily well. From my place, etc."

Well indeed might "religious houses" fall into disrepute when thus turned into prisons for Christians, especially when connected with branding on the cheek with a hot iron and the performance of such penance as the following :

PENANCE ENJOINED UNDER PAIN OF RELAPSE BY JOHN LONGLAND, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, DECEMBER 19, 1521.

"In primis. That every one of them shall upon a market-day, such as shall be limited unto them, go thrice about the market at Burford, and then to stand up upon the highest step of the Cross there a quarter of an hour with a faggot of wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and every one of them once to bear a faggot of wood upon their shoulders before their Procession, upon a Sunday which shall be limited unto them, at Burford from the choir door going out to the choir door going in, and all the High Mass time to hold the same faggot upon their shoulders kneeling upon the step afore the high altar there, and every one of them to do likewise in their own Parish Church upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them, and once to bear a faggot at a general Procession at Uxbridge, when they shall be assigned thereto, and once to bear a faggot at the Burning of an Heretic, when they shall be monished thereto. Also every one of them to fast, bread and ale only, every Friday during their life, and every eve of Corpus Christi every one of them to fast bread and water during their life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same. Also to say every one of them every Sunday and every Friday during their life once our Lady-Psalter, and if they forget it one day

to say as much another day for the same. Neither they nor any of them shall hide the *mark* upon their *cheek*, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchief, napkin, nor none otherwise, nor shall suffer their beards to grow past fourteen days, nor ever to haunt together again with any suspect persons, unless it be in the open market, fair, Church, inn, or common alehouse, where other people may see their conversation. And all these injunctions and every one of them to fulfil with their penance and every part of the same *under pain of relapse*."

Relapse! This must have been a word of terrible import to those who ventured to read Wycliffe's Bible in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., for, after giving a long account of the penances, Foxe gives the names of four men condemned and *burnt* for *relapse*—Thomas Bernard, James Morden, Robert Rave, John Scrivener.

"As touching the burning of John Scrivener, here is to be noted that his *own children* were compelled to set fire unto their *father*; in like manner as Joan Clerke also, daughter to William Tilsworth, was constrained to give fire to her own natural father, as before specified. The example of which cruelty, as it is contrary to God and nature, so it hath not been seen nor heard of in the memory of the heathen."

SIX MEN AND ONE WOMAN BURNED IN ONE FIRE AT COVENTRY.

The principal cause of the apprehension of those persons was for *teaching their children and families the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English*, for which they were upon Ash Wednesday taken and put in prison, some in places under the ground, some in chambers, and other places about, till the Friday following. Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry. During which time their children were sent for to the Grey Friars in Coventry, before the Warden of the said friars called Father Stafford, who straitly examining

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of their belief, and what heresy their fathers had taught them, charged them, upon pain of suffering such death as their fathers should, in *no wise to meddle any more with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments in English*. Which done, the fathers of these children on Palm Sunday were brought back again to Coventry, and then the week next before Easter were condemned for relapse, because most of them had borne faggots in the same city before.

Only the woman, Mistress Smith, was dismissed for that present, and because it was evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, Simon Mourton, the Bishop's Sumner, offered himself to go home with her. Now, as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve, "Yea," saith he, "what have ye here?" and so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and Ten Commandments *in English*, which, when the wretched Sumner understood, "Ah, sirrah," saith he, "come, as good now as another time," and so brought her back to the Bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the six men in a place called "The Little Park," April 4, 1519.

Their names were Mistress Smith, a widow; Robert Hatchets, Archer, Hawkins, Thomas Bond, shoemakers; Wrigsham, a glover; Landsdale, a hosier. When they were dispatched, immediately the Sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle to their own use, not leaving their wives and children any parcel thereof to help themselves withal. And forasmuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty showed, and at the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the Bishop with his officers and priests caused it to be noised abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and Commandments in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridays and other fasting days, which could not be proved either before their death or after. They were noted among their neighbours as being very devout, godly in their lives, and abhorring the use of oaths.

The early part of the reign of Henry VIII. must have

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appeared very dark and threatening to the Protestants of those days. Perhaps there never was a time in English history when the Romish system, founded on their Seven Sacraments, seemed more secure, or a less prospect of anything like toleration to others. There was the King, a champion on the Pope's side, and defender of his Church; there was the princely splendour of Cardinal Wolsey, who, with other ecclesiastics, filled all the principal offices of State; and the immense wealth of the Church to uphold the established order; yet in the face of all this the whole religious system was crumbling to pieces—so much so that men then living should see every monastery levelled and suppressed, the Cardinal himself putting down the first fifty; should see Henry fetch to London and burn the crosses and images he himself had worshipped, and all this accelerated by our next *Oxford worthy*—

WILLIAM TYNDALE, OXON.

(Commonly called "The Apostle of England")

Born A.D. 1484; slain October 6, 1536.

The portrait of William Tyndale in Magdalen Hall represents him as pointing to a Bible, a scroll of writing informing us *that* Bible was the light which dispelled the Roman darkness.

"He brought the Lamp that with awakening beams
Dispelled thy gloom, and broke away thy dreams."

To William Tyndale, of Oxford, England was indebted for the very first New Testament printed in the common tongue, bringing spiritual life to thousands, to himself, his two fellow-labourers, and several disciples and readers of the dreaded Book, *death by fire at the stake*.

"By small
Accomplishing great things, by things deemed weak
Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
By simply meek; that suffering for Truth's sake
Is fortitude to highest victory,
And to the Faithful, death the gate of life."

MILTON, Book XII.

The Oxford leaders of the Reformation were all great, yet two stand pre-eminent—William Tyndale and John Wycliffe, as similar in their views and self-imposed work. Both seem to have been raised up by the providence of God to make the giving of the Bible to the people the one ruling idea of their lives. Having accomplished that, they died, but their works remain for all succeeding ages.

William Tyndale is a most remarkable instance of one who in a dark age attained in early life so full and clear a knowledge of the Scriptures, in marked contrast to Cranmer and Latimer, who both confessed that it was only seven years before their death that they could break the sacramental chain. To Tyndale the seven-linked chain was like the green withs that bound Samson—mere tow. He took the two golden ordinances which had been worked up with that chain, cleaned them from "the mediæval corruptions," restored them to their legitimate use; but the other five links he flung away. Next to the Bible, his prefaces to the different books of Scripture, his masterly treatise on "Justification by Faith Only," and his "Obedience of a Christian Man," etc., assisted the Reformers in defining the doctrines of the Church of England, for Tyndale's opinions may certainly be traced all through the Prayer Book and Homilies.

Very little is known of Tyndale's youth beyond that he was born near Bristol, received his education at a Grammar School, and removed to Oxford very early in his life, where, Foxe says, "he increased as well in the knowledge of tongues as other liberal arts, and especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted, insomuch that he, lying then at Magdalen Hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen College some parcel of Divinity instructing in the truth of the Scriptures, and all they that knew him esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition and of unspotted life."

After proceeding to his degrees in Oxford, he removed to the University of Cambridge, where he probably became

acquainted with the Greek Testament published by Erasmus in 1516. Some time after he returned to his native county as tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury, about 1520. Here he met with much opposition from a sort of unlearned and violent priests. On one memorable occasion a certain doctor, accounted for a learned man, when disputing with him, burst out into these profane words, and said, "We were better to be without God's law than the Pope's." Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied: "I defy the Pope and all his laws," and added: "*If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.*"

Tyndale now removed to London, thinking to gain the favour of Tunstall, the Bishop of London, whom Erasmus extolled for his learning, that he might under his patronage have a favourable opportunity for translating the New Testament from the Greek into English; for this was now his chief aim, as he tells us: "I perceived how impossible it was to establish the lay people in any truth except they had before their eyes the Scriptures in their mother tongue." To induce the Bishop to receive him, he gave him an example of his ability by a translation of a speech of Isocrates from the Greek. But the Bishop replied saying his house was full, and he might find some other to engage him in London. Tyndale remained in London about a year, and soon saw that neither in the Bishop's palace nor in all London was there a fitting place to accomplish his great work. And so, with the help of friends, and especially that of Humphrey Munmouth, an alderman of London, he took refuge at Hamburg. Later on, when he had completed the translation of the New Testament (1525), he went to Cologne to print it, as there was no printing-press then at Hamburg.

Here for a while we leave him to note what was happening in England.

Cardinal Wolsey was now in the height of his power,

representing and realizing the power of the Church of Rome in both Church and State. No other country yielded to Rome a more lucrative tribute than England at this time. There were the *Annates*, or first-fruits, payable by the Archbishop down to the lowest ecclesiastic upon election to office; the *Appeal* to Rome; the *Dispensation* from it; the *Indulgence*; the *Legatine Levy*; the *Mortuary*; the *Pardon*; the *Ethelwolf's pension*; *Peter's Pence* for every chimney that smoked in England; the *Pilgrimages*; *Tenths*; besides the sale of *Trinkets*, or holy wares, from Rome! Here were not less than twelve distinct sources of revenue. It was a pecuniary connection of immense power, made to bear upon the general conscience, which knew no pause by day, no pause by night, falling as it did not merely on the living, but on the dying and the dead.

The organization to collect this tribute was seen on every hand. Take, for instance, the county of Gloucester, where Tyndale was born; within that county alone there were no fewer than six mitred abbeys—viz., Gloucester, Cirencester, Winchcombe, Tewkesbury, Hales, and Hanley, the Abbots of the three first having seats in Parliament. Besides these there were many others, styled "Religious," of every grade and denomination, situated on the most pleasant and productive spots, of which none were better judges than the monks. Then, as for the Bishops of this diocese (Worcester), from 1497 to 1534 there were four Italians in regular succession. The first two had been resident, as was too well known; but the two last, Julius de Medici and Jerome de Ghinucci, never resided in England, the Pope's Legate transacting all their business.

Cardinal Wolsey, however, was not content to rest satisfied with his almost absolute power in Church and State; he saw changes coming which troubled him. The name of Luther was strangely intermingled with the revival of classical learning, and the power of the printing-press suggested to him a flood of heretical works which would be fatal to the power of Rome, if not to religion itself.

Familiar with Oxford from the age of fourteen, he must

have watched the efforts made to suppress Wycliffe's translation of the Bible ; he must have seen Lincoln College built by Bishop Fleming, the man who burnt Wycliffe's bones, and built it expressly to oppose Lollardism ; and All Souls College, reared by Archbishop Chicheley, the burner of Lord Cobham ; and Brasenose, by Bishop Smith the persecutor.

A grand idea takes possession of Wolsey—nothing less than the founding of a splendid college at Oxford, on a scale to eclipse everything of its kind in the world, and to gather all the talent of the kingdom therein, and so to set learning against learning to uphold the cause of Rome. This, no doubt, was the origin of

CARDINAL COLLEGE, OXFORD (NOW CHRIST CHURCH).

On April 3, 1524, Pope Clement by a Bull gave the Cardinal authority to suppress the monastery of St. Frideswide in Oxford, and carry the monks elsewhere, to make room for the students. To this the King assented on April 19. In the following year came another Bull, giving him leave to enrich his college by suppressing twenty-two priories and nunneries ; but the fact is, Wolsey, having once obtained the Pope's sanction, was resolved to proceed as Legate of his own will, and he actually went on until he had dissolved *forty-one*. The Cardinal sent Bishop Longland to Oxford to remove St. Frideswide's monks, and prepare materials for building ; the college, however, never was completed according to the magnificent scale laid down. But the men to be selected with whom he was to commence his crusade had already engaged Wolsey's most earnest care. The most expert and learned were alone to be selected as students ; the kingdom was searched, and in 1524, the Cardinal having paid a visit to Cambridge, that University had to yield up its most choice young men. Little did Wolsey imagine that even then Tyndale was busy preparing a book that was destined to lead some of those very men in his beloved college to help forward in a remarkable way the English Reformation.

Meanwhile Tyndale, at Cologne, had succeeded in printing ten sheets of the New Testament in quarto, when Cochläus, an inveterate enemy of the Reformation, through the unguarded remarks of some of the printers, discovered the fact, and took steps to arrest the work. Tyndale escaped with the printed sheets to Worms, while Cochläus sent a warning to King Henry, Wolsey, and Fisher, that they might "prevent the importation of the pernicious merchandise." Tyndale, however, proceeded with his work, and prepared two editions of his New Testament, a small octavo without notes, as well as the larger quarto with notes, and early in 1526 Tyndale's New Testament reached England, and was found in both Universities.

An interesting reference is found in the diary of a German scholar, Spalatinus, under date August, 1526: "One told us that 6,000 copies of the English Testament had been printed at Worms, translated by an Englishman, who lived there with two of his countrymen, and was so complete a master of seven languages—Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French—that you would fancy that whichever one he spake was his mother tongue. He added that the English, in spite of the active opposition of the King, were so eager for the Gospel as to affirm they would buy a New Testament, even if they had to give 100,000 pieces of money for it."

In England the authorities took the alarm. Sir Thomas More fiercely attacked the translation, as dishonest and heretical, the Archbishop and Bishop of London denounced it, and copies were bought up and burnt. So fierce was the persecution that ensued that of the first six editions issued before 1530, numbering probably 15,000 copies, there remain at this day only about six fragments.

One of the first and most active distributors was *Thomas Garret* of Oxford, afterwards martyr. He was curate at All Hallows' Church, in Honey Lane, Cheapside, London, and, having obtained a number of these volumes, he set to work to carry them himself to those he knew at Oxford. After he had been there a while, news came that Cardinal

Wolsey had been searching all through London for him as a heretic and distributor of heretical books, and, having failed in the search, he was informed through one of the proctors by a friend that a secret search was to be made in Oxford to apprehend him. Hearing this, his friends arranged that he should go into Dorset, but when he had gone a little way his heart failed him, and he returned to his usual abode at Oxford, where he was arrested by the two proctors at midnight in his bed.

Anthony Dalaber, a scholar of St. Alban's Hall, from which he had just removed to Gloucester College, gives a graphic account of Garret's escape, and how he came to him that Saturday afternoon, and begged him to help him by giving him a coat to go away unperceived towards Wales, which he did, parting from him in tears, and with prayers for God's protection. "When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear I did with much deliberation read over the 10th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and when I had so done, with fervent prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching Him in and for Jesus Christ's sake, His only begotten Son our Lord, that He would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies, but also that he would endue His tender and *lately born little flock in Oxford* with heavenly strength by His Holy Spirit, that they might be able thereby valiantly to withstand to His glory all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly to their own salvation with all godly patience bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young backs, unable to bear so huge a burden without great help of His Holy Spirit. This done I laid *aside my book safe.*"

He then went out, and, meeting Master Eden, a Fellow of Magdalen College, told him what had occurred ; then he

went on to St. Frideswide's, and as they were in the midst of Evensong, he stood near the choir, and saw Dr. Cottisford, the Commissary, come in hastily "as pale as ashes," and, speaking to the Dean, they both came out, evidently greatly concerned at Garret's escape. Dalaber then went to a friend, Master Clarke, of that college, and told him and two other Fellows of Cardinal College; then he went to Corpus Christi, where a few friends were gathered, and finally spent a sleepless night with a friend at St. Alban's. Early on Sunday morning, by five o'clock, he proceeded to his rooms at Gloucester College, but had to wait an hour at the gates, and then, on reaching his rooms, after some difficulty opening the door, found his rooms had been searched, and he himself was ordered to appear before the Prior Anthony Dunstan. Forgetting to change his clothes and shoes, which were muddy on account of the rain that night, he at once went before him. When asked where he had been all night, he replied at St. Alban's Hall, but was not believed; then asked where Garret was, he said he could not tell, unless he had gone to Woodstock. Then the Prior, seeing on his finger a ring of silver doubly gilt, demanded it. When he got it, he declared it was his ring, for there was his name, A for Anthony and D for Dunstan. "When I heard him say so I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his company as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever."

In short, he was strictly examined and set in the stocks. Soon after Garret was himself taken at Hincksey, near Oxford, and brought to St. Mary's Church, where he was condemned as a heretic, and he and Dalaber compelled to bear a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's to St. Frideswide's, and to cast a book into the fire at Carfax, which had been kindled for the purpose, and then imprisoned at Osney Abbey.

Besides Garret and Dalaber, many other young men were arrested and imprisoned, the greater portion of whom were members of Cardinal College, and brought thither from Cambridge, of whom may be mentioned—

John Fryth, B.A., afterwards a helper of Tyndale, and burnt in Smithfield, July 4, 1533.

Thomas Lawney, Chaplain of the House, and afterwards to the Duke of Norfolk, and a friend of Cranmer.

John Clarke, M.A., of Cambridge, thirty-four years of age, who, being about ten years older than the rest, and an eminent scholar, gave them divinity lectures.

Henry Sumner, M.A.

Godfrey Harmon, M.A., after Fellow of Eton College.

William Bettes, afterwards a favourite Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn; he died 1534.

Richard Cox, M.A., after Bishop of Ely, and had a great hand in the Prayer Books.

Richard Taverner, of Boston, a good musician, known in connection with the Bible he published.

Michael Drumme.

All these from Cardinal College.

Nicholas Udall, of Corpus Christi, afterwards Master of Eton and Westminster Schools.

John Diot, of Corpus Christi College.

Master Eden, and others, of Magdalen.

Master Goodman.

William Bayley.

John Salisbury, died Bishop of Man, 1573; he helped to translate the first Welsh Bible.

Robert Ferrar, afterwards Chaplain to Cranmer, then Bishop of Sodor and Man, and then Bishop of St. David's, and suffered at the stake at Carmarthen, March 30, 1555.

Langport, a monk of St. Austin.

As for these young men, they were immured in a deep cellar under Cardinal College, the common storehouse for their salt fish, a noisome dungeon, where the air and food proved too fatal. Bettes, no suspected books being detected in his chamber, through entreaty and surety, got out of prison, and as soon as he could went to Cambridge. Taverner, though deeply implicated as having concealed Clarke's books *under his floor*, being skilful in music, was excused by Wolsey; but the rest remained in this most

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miserable abode, where, eating *nothing but salt fish from the beginning of March to the middle of August, four of them died*—viz., Master Clarke, Sumner, and Bayley within a week, and Goodman, who was taken out, died in the town. After this, but only on account of a letter from Wolsey, they were all released, on condition of not moving above ten miles from Oxford. How many thus continued as prisoners at large does not appear, but John Fryth, being so far at liberty, and now aware of the treatment of Garret and Dalaber, “*escaped by flight over the sea to Tyndale.*” He left Oxford, therefore, in August or September, 1526.

All this confusion in Cardinal College was remarkable. To have students drawn away from other colleges was sufficiently mortifying, but to have Cardinal College, his favourite one, infected with what he called heresy was dreadful, and a deep disappointment to the Cardinal. The New Testament was fulfilling its Divine mission “*like a fire or hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces.*”

But it was not only at Oxford that the English New Testament was burnt.

A GREAT BOOK FIRE IN LONDON, FEBRUARY 11, 1526.

Dr. Robert Barnes, a leading spirit among the Reformers at Cambridge, had been arrested and brought to London by Wolsey, and there induced to recant, and, together with four German traders, to bear faggots at St. Paul's, while another was to offer a taper of five pounds' weight before the Rood of Northen (near the north door) of St. Paul's. In the morning at eight o'clock they were all ready, the Church being full; the Cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself with thirty-six Abbots, Mitred Priors, and Bishops there sitting enthroned, his chaplains and doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and himself in purple (which pomp Barnes had spoken against). A new pulpit was set for the Bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes, while great baskets full of books were standing there to be burnt after the sermon. During

the sermon the penitents had to kneel, and afterwards to acknowledge their fault. "And so the Cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paul's, and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again." Dr. Barnes and the others were then led thrice round the fire, to cast in their faggots, and brought back to receive some kind of absolution, and then remanded to the Fleet Prison for further orders.

Some fourteen years later Barnes and Garret were burnt together at Smithfield (July 30, 1540).

Besides translating the New Testament and portions of the Old, Tyndale wrote a Prologue to it, which was afterwards reprinted separately, under the title of "A Pathway into the Holy Scripture." After this he published "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," May 8, 1527; "On Justification by Faith"; and on October 2, 1528, "The Obedience of a Christian Man."

The attitude of the Bishops is clearly seen in a proclamation made by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, on October 23, 1526 (the same year the New Testament arrived), and a similar one by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, eleven days after, to this effect: "We, having understanding that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the Catholic faith, *craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue*, of which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison, etc., do charge you, the Archdeacons, by virtue of your obedience, and command you by our authority to warn or cause to be warned all dwelling within your Archdeaconry that within thirty days, under pain of excommunication and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in and really deliver unto our Vicar-General all and singular such books as do contain the New Testament in the English tongue."

But this did not satisfy them, for in 1529 they obtained a very stringent proclamation from the King that all preachers and teachers, importers and readers of prohibited books, including the New Testament and many other works of the Reformers, should be delivered to the Bishops to imprison, fine, or sentence to execution according to the laws. This proclamation was enforced with all severity.

In fact, we find that from the days of Wycliffe the disciples of Christ in England were much in the same situation as those Israelites in the days of Elijah whom "God reserved to Himself." Hidden and unknown, their number can never be ascertained, otherwise it would probably surprise us, as much as the "seven thousand" did the desponding Prophet of old. There can be no doubt that portions of the Scriptures were read in secret with great profit, notwithstanding all the virulent opposition. Our key to the extent of that reading is the opposition displayed. Mere gleams of light obtained from the Sacred Word were enough to bring down the wrath of the oppressor. During the fifteenth century various cases of burning for heresy, as Protestantism was called, had occurred; but from the commencement of the sixteenth, as light increased, the opposition became more determined and systematic. Particular seasons of persecution can be marked, as 1509 to 1517, under Fitzjames of London; 1511, under Warham of Canterbury and Smith of Lincoln; and, above all, 1521, under Longland of Lincoln, when the most determined opposition to the Word of God was displayed. And it should be *particularly observed* that all these persecutions were on account of opinions *not received from any foreign land*. Whatever those opinions were, they were indigenous to this country, and are mainly to be attributed to certain *portions of the Sacred Writings in English manuscript*. Before, and even long before, the German Reformer Luther was born these opinions were sifted, debated, and maintained; nay, as late as 1521, though the writings of Luther were publicly denounced, yet they were as yet in Latin, unknown to the

people generally, so that, amidst all the barbarities of Longland, we hear of no punishment for Lutheranism, so called.

It is certainly, therefore, to be regretted that even British historians should in too many instances have looked over to Germany to account for the commencement and progress of what occurred in England.

After an examination of official records of the day, more patient and laborious than that in which any man has ever since engaged, it is not surprising that John Foxe should dwell on the retrospect with delight, and ascribe to God and His own Word alone, though not yet in print, this great work in the hearts of the people. Soon after Tyndale's works already mentioned were fairly known in England we witness the *fall of Cardinal Wolsey*, and Sir Thomas More succeeding him as Lord Chancellor of England in 1529—a change decidedly for the worse to the Protestants, as soon became evident. Cardinal Wolsey had not suffered the Bishops to go all the lengths they would in persecution, insomuch that one of the accusations against him presented to the King by the Lords, with Sir Thomas More at their head, was that “he had hindered the due and direct correction of heresies.” What that meant in the lips of Sir Thomas More, who now came into power, may be gathered from the fact that he and Bishop Tunstall had lately been on a mission from Henry to arrange the treaty of Cambray with the Emperor, which related partly to the correction of heresies, in consequence of which the Emperor issued a proclamation throughout his dominions, by which all those who relapsed were to be burnt; as for others, men were to die by the sword, women to be buried alive. All were warned against receiving any heretic (Lutheran) into their houses on pain of death and confiscation of goods. Suspected persons were to receive no honourable employment, and in order to find out heretics one half of their estates were promised to informers (see Brant). It was under this cruel law that Tyndale was eventually put to death.

Besides, the pen of More, dipped in gall, had been busy arguing for persecution unto *death* in his strange and characteristic "Dialogue."

Therefore, as soon as Parliament was opened on November 3, and Convocation two days later had appointed secretly a committee of Bishops to deal with heretics, we meet with the first royal proclamation which interdicted printed books, pursuing the importers, possessors, or authors of them to death by fire. Wolsey had great influence with the King, but he never induced him to thus imbrue his hands with the blood of his subjects; that distinguished the administration of his less ostentatious successor, Sir Thomas More.

Wolsey did not long survive his fall, for he died November 29, 1530. Shakespeare makes him despair of ever regaining his former state :

"Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness !
This is the state of man ; to-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope ; to-morrow blossoms,
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
And when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
His greatness is a ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls, as I do. I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
These many summers, in a sea of Glory,
But far beyond my depth ; my high-blown pride
At length broke under me, and now has left me
Weary and old with service, to the mercy
Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me."

The circumstances of Wolsey's death are remarkable, but the most melancholy feature of his dying hour was that he literally expired with the language of a persecutor on his lips—another evidence of the spiritual bondage of Popery ; that even his clear intellect could not deliver his uneasy conscience. Addressing himself to Sir William Kingston, the Constable of the Tower, whom Henry had sent down to convey him, he said : " Well, well, Master Kingston, I see the matter against me how it is framed ; but if I had served God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs." " I pray you with

all my heart to have me most humbly commended unto his royal Majesty, and say, furthermore, that I request his Grace in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new sect of Lutherans, that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence, in such a sort as that he shall be fain at length to put harness upon his back to subdue them." And after exhausting himself by a long harangue in the same style referring to Wycliffe and Sir John Oldecastle, he closed with these words: "From which mischief, God of His tender mercy defend us." He died at eight o'clock on Wednesday morning at the age of sixty. Cavendish, his confidential servant, and the other parties had left for London.

In vain had he been preparing for himself a monument of brass, of exquisite workmanship and at great expense, which he had placed in the hands of Benedetto, a statuary of Florence, in 1524, as Lord Herbert tells us, and who had it in hand five years, and had received 4,250 ducats in part payment. The design (including an image of Wolsey) was so glorious that it exceeded that of Henry VII. Nevertheless, dying in this manner, King Henry made use of so much as he thought fit, and called it *his*. Thus did the tomb of the Cardinal partake of the same fortune with his college at Oxford, in being assumed by the King; and even his actual grave was forgotten. He may be buried in an abbey, but in less than seven years after his death his own servant and successor, Cromwell, whom he had employed in dissolving other monasteries, was the one by whose authority Leicester Abbey itself was bereft of all its ornaments, plate, and bells. In the year 1787, says the *Cambridge Chronicle* of June 2, "as a labourer was digging for potatoes upon the spot where the high Altar stood, he found a human skull with several other bones all perfect. From the situation of the place and other circumstances it was conjectured at the time that this might be the identical skull of Wolsey."

Wolsey's dying message to Henry urging him to depress Protestantism was scarcely needed; Sir Thomas More was

urging it in print. "The Prelates ought temporally to *destroy those ravening wolves*, and the sparkle well quenched ere it was suffered to grow to over great fire." The Bishops were eager to act on his advice. The poor old Bishop Nix, of Norwich, aged eighty years, and blind, writing to the Archbishop, says : "I am accombered with such as keepeth and readeth these erroneous books in English. My Lord, I have done what I can for the suppression of such persons, but it passeth my power, or any spiritual man for to do it." Concluding with : "I have desired my Lord Abbot, of Hyde, to show, etc., how I thought best for the suppression of such as holdeth these erroneous opinions, for if they continue any time *I think they shall undo us all*."

For some time the united strength of the most able opponents in the kingdom—Lord Chancellor More, Warham Tunstall, and Gardiner—had been employed in framing an authoritative list of all the heresies detected in Tyndale's writings, with a denunciation of them all by Royal authority. These prelates had contrived to find out about 200 heretical sentences in only six publications, of which number 107 were charged on Tyndale and Fryth, selected from passages chiefly in the New Testament, "Mammon," and "Obedience," of Tyndale ; and what would the Christian reader suppose was the one great deadly heresy chosen to stand at the top of that black list ? Why, it was this—"Justification by *Faith only*."

Never did the worldly wisdom of Popery condemn itself more plainly than in pointing out that *truth* of Tyndale's as the very essence of heresy, as it was fatal to their whole system. Exactly the same might be said of that doctrine of Tyndale's as was said by Bishop Gardiner of the danger of letting the people have the Bible in English : "Once *open that door* to the people, then *farewell all*." So once open the door of Justification by Faith only, then farewell Sacramental Regeneration and Justification ; farewell Apostolical Succession and priestly Confession, Absolution and Masses for the dead—farewell all.

But here we see Tyndale, in his treatise on "Justifica-

tion by Faith only," laying down that grand controlling doctrine upon which afterwards Cranmer and his fellow-workers constructed the Church of England Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies, the Articles defining Tyndale's despised dogma to be "a most wholesome doctrine," and the Prayer Book ratifying the same where it says in the Communion Service "that Christ may dwell in your *hearts by faith*," contrary to the Sacramental sense of Popery, which makes the Saviour's Spiritual Presence to dwell in the Bread and Wine.

Verily, the spirit of Tyndale dwells in our Prayer Book.

The result of these efforts and meetings of the Bishops and King's Counsellors led to a Royal Proclamation denouncing the aforesaid great errors. It went on to say: "All which great errors and pestilent heresies, being contagious and damnable, with the translations of Scriptures corrupted by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors, the King's Highness present in person by one whole consent of the Prelates and Clerks, as well of the Universities as of all other assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of the people, and not to be suffered to get abroad among his subjects." After this Proclamation followed a Bill of Instructions to be published by all preachers to their congregations. We give a sentence or two:

"Wherefore, you that have the books called 'The Obedience of a Christian Man,' 'The Revelation of Antichrist,' 'The Supplication of Beggars,' 'Mammon,' 'The Matrimony' of Tyndale, 'The New Testament' in English, and such other books in English, *detest them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them up to the Superiors*, such as call for them. And if by reading heretofore anything remains in your breast of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the truth expel it. This you ought to do, and *being obstinate*, the Prelates of the Church ought to compel you, and our Prince to punish and correct you, for not doing the same.

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"Finally, it appeareth that the having the whole of Scripture is *not necessary to Christian men*, and like as the having of the Scripture in the Vulgar tongue and in the common people's hands sometimes thought meet and convenient, so at another time it hath been thought not expedient to be communicate amongst them. Wherein, forasmuch as the King's Highness, by the advice of his counsel, and the agreement of great learned men, thinketh *in his conscience* that the divulging of *this Scripture* at this time in the English tongue to be committed to the people should rather be to the *confusion* and *destruction* than the edification of their souls." "And it was thought there, in that assembly, that the King's Highness and the Prelates in so doing, *not suffering the Scriptures to be divulged at this time, doth well*, and I also think the same." (So was the preacher instructed to say.)

The original document, closely written on eight skins of parchment, may still be seen in the Library at Lambeth Palace. It is in "Warham's Register," folio 188. The heresies falsely so called are all well answered by Foxe, who says: "In all which Articles there is not *one* but either is a perfect truth and a principle of Christian faith, or else it is falsely gathered, or perversely recited, or craftily handled, or maliciously mangled," etc.

Bishop Latimer's name is down among the rest, as one present at this meeting. Several of our historians have inferred from this fact that he was an assenting party. So far from that, the Proclamation was the cause of Latimer writing such a letter to Henry, as is not usual for an absolute King to receive from a subject. After alluding to persecution as a mark of Christ's true followers, he goes on to say: "Therefore please it your Grace to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this: 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' For where you see persecution there is the Gospel, and there is the Truth; and they that do persecute be void and without all truth, not caring for the clear light . . . but go about to *stop it*, and *hinder it*, letting as much as they may, that the

Holy Scripture should not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection, and so they would fain persuade your Grace to *keep it back*. But here mark their shameless boldness to call good evil, and evil good, and to say that *that* which teacheth all obedience should cause dissension and strife. . . . But as concerning this matter, other men have showed your Grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scriptures in English. The which thing also your Grace hath promised by your last Proclamation, the which promise I pray God that your Highness may shortly perform, even to-day, before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. And as concerning your last Proclamation, prohibiting such books, howbeit there were three or four that would have the Scriptures go forth in English, yet it happened that the most part overcometh the better. . . . For what marvel is it that they, being of your counsel and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit these books, which before by their own authority *have forbidden the New Testament* under pain of everlasting damnation? For such is their manner to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament, and so I think the other, was meekly offered to every one that would and could to amend it if there were any fault." (Latimer thus repeats Tyndale's own words to Henry, and next denounceth More.) "And take heed whose counsels your Grace doth take in this matter. For there be some that for fear of losing their worldly worship and honour will not leave their opinion, which rashly and that to please men withal by whom they had great promotion they took upon them to defend by writing, so that now they think that all their felicity, which they put in this life, should be marred and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed should now be put forth and allowed.

"Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom that think it against their worship to acknowledge their

ignorance, whom I pray God your Grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God, that you may do that which God commandeth, and not that which seemeth good in your own sight, without the Word of God; that your Grace may be found acceptable in His sight, and one of the members of His Church, and according to the office that He hath called your Grace unto, that you may be found a faithful Minister of His gifts, and not a Defender of His Faith, for He will not have it defended by Man, or Man's power, but by *His Word only*, by the which He hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

"Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul, and think the day is even at hand when you shall give an account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day that your Grace may stand stedfastly and be not ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your *quietus est* sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to Him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to His Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace.—Anno Domini, 1530, 1 die Decembris."

No monarch was ever more pointedly addressed, or more seasonably and faithfully warned.

A short time before this letter was written we hear of

A SECOND PUBLIC BURNING OF THE BIBLE.

The first book fire had been the result of Wolsey's secret search in 1526. But now that Tyndale and his translations of Scripture had been denounced by royal authority, Tunstall takes the opportunity to burn at St. Paul's Cross the Bibles he had purchased at Antwerp. "This year, in May," says Halle, "the Bishop of London caused all the

New Testaments which he had bought, and many other books, to be brought into St. Paul's Churchyard in London and there openly burnt."

There was, however, a great difference between the effects of this burning and that of 1526. Then the people generally were not so well aware of the value of what they saw consumed; but it was far otherwise now, and this alone is a proof that the cause of Divine Truth was making decided progress. "This burning," Burnet says, "had such a hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people at once concluded there must be a visible contrariety between that Book and the doctrines of those that thus handled it; by which both their prejudices against the clergy and their desire of reading the New Testament were increased." "Afterwards," says Halle, "when more Testaments were imprinted, they came thick and threefold into England." The Bishop of London, hearing that still there were so many, sent for Augustine Packington, the merchant who had procured them for him, and said, "Sir, how cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad, and you promised and assured me that you had bought all?" Then said Packington, "I promise you that I bought all that then were to be had; but I perceive they have made more since, and it will never be better as long as they have the *letters* and *stamps*. Therefore it were best for your lordship to *buy* the *stamps* too, and then you are *sure*." The Bishop smiled at him, and said, "Well, Packington, well," and so ended the matter.

Before noting how they proceeded from burning books to burn men and women, there is a curious circumstance connected with Tyndale's books mentioned by Strype, which occurred some time before the Cardinal's death.

Tyndale's "Obedience of a Christian Man" had by some means reached the hands of Queen Anne Boleyn, and "she had lent it for perusal to a fair young gentlewoman in her service, named Mrs. Gainsford, from whose hands it was playfully carried off by the young lady's suitor, a Mr.

George Zouch. Cardinal Wolsey had about the same time given commandment to the prelates, and especially to Dr. Sampson, Dean of the King's Chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all people for such books, that so, as much as might be, they might not come to the King's reading. But Mr. Zouch was so delighted with what he read that he could not refrain from reading it, not even in the King's Chapel. His close attention to his book caught Dr. Sampson's eye, and at length the Dean called him up, took the book from him, and required to know what was his name and whose man he was. The book was presently delivered over by the Dean to the Cardinal, but in the meanwhile the Queen asked her woman for the book. She, on her knees, told the circumstances. The Queen showed herself not sorry nor angry with either of the two, but, 'Well,' said she, 'it shall be the dearest book that ever the Dean or Cardinal took away.' So she goeth to the King, and upon her knees she desireth the King's help for her book. Upon the King's token the book is restored, and now, bringing the book to him, she desireth His Grace most tenderly to read it. The King did so, and, delighted with it, said, 'This book is for me and all Kings to read' (Strype, "Eccles. Mem."). This story is confirmed by Wyatt.

The King's continued hostility to Tyndale is not incompatible with his being pleased for a time with a powerfully written book pressed upon his notice by the Lady Anne, nor yet with his perceiving that the author had justly rebuked the inroads made upon the authority of princes by a usurping priesthood.

In London, as well as in the country, persecution went on. We read of one Humphrey Mummuth, Alderman of London, thrown into the Tower, and accused for "giving exhibition to William Tyndale, Roy, and such other; for ministering privy help to translate the Testament and other books into English; for eating flesh in Lent; for affirming that Faith only justifies," etc. It seems by explanation and submission he escaped, was knighted, and became Sheriff of London. Another of Tyndale's friends was Thomas

Hydden, a priest of Maidstone, who, after long imprisonment and torture by the Archbishop and Bishop Fisher of Rochester, was burnt at Maidstone "for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of His free grace and salvation."

In 1531 a second edition of Sir Thomas More's "Dialogue" was published, in which he had employed sarcasm and sophistry throughout 300 folio pages, chiefly against Tyndale and his translation of the Scriptures. Persecution now became general. We can only select a few cases as characteristic of those sad times.

Sir Thomas More will now be seen putting into practice what he had so strongly recommended in writing, "There should have been *more burned* by a *great many* than there have been within this seven year last passed."

One of the meekest and holiest of the martyrs of Henry VIII.'s reign was THOMAS BILNEY, a Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. In 1529 he had been terrified and tempted by Bishop Tunstall into abjuring the faith he really held; but his friend Bishop Latimer tells us, in a sermon preached before Edward VI.: "I knew a man myself, Bilney—little Bilney—that blessed martyr of God, what time he had borne a faggot and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts with himself, beholding the image of death, that his friends were afraid to let him be alone; they were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. As for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword; yet afterwards, for all, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical See of Rome. Woe will be that Bishop that had the examination of him if he repented not." In another place he speaks of him as "rather St. Bilney, the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge." We read in Foxe that, finding no peace of mind at Cambridge, he went into Norfolk, and preached publicly the doctrine he had abjured. Having done this, he entered Norwich, and gave

a nun (who had been converted under his ministry) a New Testament of Tyndale's translation and "The Obedience of a Christian Man." Here he was apprehended by Bishop Nix. The old man immediately sent up to Sir Thomas More for a writ to burn the heretic, when Sir Thomas is reported to have said to the messenger in his usual frivolous, jesting manner: "Go your ways, and *burn him first*, and then afterwards come to me for a writ under my hand."

At all events, Bilney was soon condemned to die at the stake. The night before his execution the dying martyr, quite composed, resigned, and even cheerful, among other passages of Scripture, dwelt much on this: "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee. I have called thee by thy name; thou art Mine. When thou passest through the water, I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." At the stake he closed his devotions with the beginning of Ps. cxliii.: "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord, for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified." This he repeated in deep meditation three times.

The old woodcut in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" representing Bilney with his finger in the candle's flame has reference to that beautiful passage from Isaiah above quoted. Foxe relates that on the eve of his martyrdom he was discoursing with his friends in the Guildhall, and when one of them said, though the heat of the fire would be great, yet the comfort of God's Holy Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing, at that word Bilney, putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them, and feeling the heat thereof, said: "Oh, I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire by God's ordinance is naturally hot; but yet, howsoever the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it—yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby—a pain for a time, whereon followeth joy unspeakable." He then spoke at length on the passage from Isaiah, "and applied it par-

ticularly to the use of his friends, that some took such sweet fruit therein that they caused the whole sentence to be fair written on tablets, and some in their books, the comfort whereof in divers of them was never taken from them to their dying day." His Bible, which he carried to the stake with him and then delivered to a friend, may still be seen in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, that passage in Isaiah, and many others, marked by Bilney's or some other hand long ago. Dr. Parker, afterwards Archbishop, was a witness of his death.

Another case of martyrdom which proved the beneficial influence of Tyndale's works was

RICHARD BAYFIELD

(Monk of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey).

He was Chamberlain of the house, and his duty was to provide lodgings for strangers. Dr. Barnes, coming thither frequently, led him to study the Word of God, and gave him the Testament in Latin. Then two godly men of London, Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Stacey, Wardens of the Bricklayers' Company, who once a year went about to visit the brethren scattered abroad, gave him Tyndale's New Testament in English, with his book called "The Wicked Mammon" and "The Obedience of a Christian Man," wherein he prospered so mightily in two years' space that he was cast into the prison of the Abbey, there was whipped, with a gag in his mouth, and then stocked, and so continued in the same torment three-quarters of a year, before Dr. Barnes could get him out. On his deliverance he went to London, and then across the sea, and assisted Tyndale and Fryth in selling their books. Coming back to London, he was betrayed, and dogged from Master Smith's, where he was staying, to his bookbinder's in Mark Lane, there taken and carried to Lollards' Tower, thence to the coal-house, and tied by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, to

accuse others that had bought his books, but he accused none, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith to the very end.

The Bishops of London, Winchester, and others, sitting as judges, Bayfield was charged with bringing forbidden books into England, a list of above fifty works being exhibited, "all which he denied not," landing some at Colchester, some at London, etc.

On Monday, November 20, 1531, in the choir of the Cathedral of St. Paul's, the Bishop of London, with John, Abbot of Westminster, Robert, Abbot of Waltham, Nicholas, Prior of Christ Church, etc., proceeded to pass sentence on Bayfield, delivering him to the secular authorities for execution the following Monday, after degradation. "When he had been degraded, and was still kneeling upon the highest step of the altar, the Bishop took his crozier staff and smote him on the breast, that he threw him down backwards and brake his head, that he swooned; and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true, sincere church of Jesus Christ, militant here in earth. 'And I trust,' said he, 'anon to be in heaven with Jesus Christ and the Church triumphant for ever.' And so was he led forth through the choir to Newgate, and there rested about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was two quarters of an hour alive. And when the left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving (November 27, 1531)."

With such severity did the Bishop treat one of his own profession, a monk and a priest. We will now see how he dealt with a layman who had presumed to read Tyndale's works—

JOHN TEWKSBURY

(Leather-seller of London, Martyr).

John Tewksbury was converted by reading Tyndale's New Testament and the "Wicked Mammon" (on justification by faith only), and he had the Bible *written*!

In the year 1529 he disputed in the Bishop's Chapel for a week in defence of his faith so ably that the Bishop and his learned men could not resist the wisdom and power by which he spake; so they sent him from Lollards' Tower to Sir Thomas More at Chelsea, to see whether he could turn him, and induce him to accuse others.

There he lay in the porter's lodge, hand, foot, and head in the stocks six days without release; then he was carried to Jesu's tree in his private garden, where he was whipped, and also twisted in his brows with small ropes so that the blood started from his eyes, yet would he accuse no one. He was then let loose for a day, then sent to be racked at the Tower till he was almost lame, and there he was induced to recant, and ordered to perform a severe penance.

Returning home, he soon regretted his abjuration, and at last, confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Bayfield, again confessed his faith, and was brought before Sir Thomas More and the Bishop, and burnt in Smithfield, December 20, 1531.

The records of his examinations are very interesting. They asked him what he thought of Tyndale's "Wicked Mammon." He replied: "Take ye the book and read it over, and I think in my conscience ye shall find no fault in it." And he further thought that whosoever translated the New Testament and made the book mentioned, he did it of good zeal and by the Spirit of God. Then, being examined whether all good works must be done without respect of anything, he answered, "that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher or lower in heaven, for if he should it were presumption." The Bishop said: "I tell thee before God

and those which are here present, that the articles above named, and many other more contained in the same book, are *false, heretical, and condemned by Holy Church.*" The Bishop asked him again whether the said book called "The Wicked Mammon" were good. To which he replied that he thinketh on his conscience there is nothing in the book but that which is true. To this article objected, "*That faith only justifieth without works,*" he answered that *it is well said.* Whereunto the Bishop declared again that the articles objected contained in the "Wicked Mammon" were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and condemned by the Church. Referring to the same article on another occasion, he said: "If I should look to deserve heaven by works, I should do wickedly, for works follow faith, and Christ redeemed us all by the merit of His passion." When asked whether he thought "that Antichrist was not an outward thing, but a spiritual thing," he said: "I find no fault in it." When urged to allow the books to be erroneous, he said: "I pray God that the condemnation of the Gospel and translation of the Testament be not to your shame, and that ye be not in peril for it, for the condemnation of it and the other be all one." Further, he said that he had studied Holy Scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass, so in reading the New Testament he knoweth the faults of his soul.

At his final examination the principal articles objected to him were:

"He affirmed That the abjuration oath and subscription made before was by compulsion.

"That he had the books of 'The Obedience of a Christian Man' and of 'The Wicked Mammon' in his custody, and hath read them since.

"That he suffered the two faggots to be taken from his sleeve, for that he deserved not to wear them.

"That he saith that Faith only justifieth, that lacketh not charity.

"He saith that Christ is a sufficient Mediator for us, and

therefore no prayer is to be made to any Saints (whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the Anthem, 'Salve Regina, advocate nostra,' to which he replied he knew none Mediator but Christ alone).

"He affirmeth there is no Purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

"He affirmeth that the souls of the faithful departing this life rest with Christ.

"He affirmeth that a Priest, by receiving of Orders, receiveth more grace if his Faith be increased, or else not.

"And, last of all, he believeth that the Sacrament is not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood as it was born of the Virgin Mary."

The Bishop's Chancellor then asked him if he could show any cause why he should not be condemned as a heretic. To which he replied that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he hath wrong again.

The Bishop read the sentence of condemnation in the house of Sir Thomas More, delivering him to the Sheriffs, concluding in the usual form "beseeching earnestly that the punishment may be so moderated that no rigorous rigour may be used but to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror, fear, and rooting out of heretics, and their conversion to the Catholic faith," etc. This done, he was taken by them to Smithfield, and there burned on St. Thomas's Eve, December 20, less than a month after the death of Bayfield.

In the next example we shall see how Sir Thomas More will act when a lawyer is brought before him for resisting Mother Church. We shall see how a naturally mild and amiable character like Sir Thomas More was, by giving himself up to the black inspiration of Popery, turned into a fiend in practice to please the Bishops.

"Such tools the Tempter never needs
To do the savagest of deeds."

JAMES BAINHAM, Esq.

(Lawyer and Martyr).

“James Bainham was the son of a knight of Gloucestershire, instructed in the Latin and Greek, as well as in the study of the law, a man of virtuous disposition, an earnest and prayerful reader of the Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless, and afflicted without money or reward, briefly a singular example to all lawyers. He married the widow of Simon Fyshe, the author of “*The Supplication of Beggars*,” for the which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir Thomas More, arrested, and carried from the Middle Temple to Sir Thomas’s house at Chelsea, where he continued in free prison for a while, till the Chancellor saw he could not pervert him to his sect. Then he cast him into prison in his (Sir Thomas’s) own house, and whipped him at the tree in his garden called the *Tree of Truth*, and after sent him to the Tower of London to be *racked*, and so he was, *Sir Thomas More being present himself*, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of his acquaintance in the Temple, nor would show where his books lay; and because his wife denied them to be in his house *she* was sent to the Fleet prison, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practised upon him by tortures and torments, he was examined before John Stokesley, Bishop of London, December 15, 1531, at Chelsea—

1. Whether he believed there were any Purgatory of Souls hence departed.

To which he answered in the words of Scripture: “If we walk in the light, even as He is in light, we have society together with Him, and the blood of Jesus Christ His Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we con-

fess our sins, He is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities."

2. Whether the Saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto to pray for us.

To which he answered on this wise : " My little children, I write this unto you that you sin not. If any man do sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and He is the propitiation for our sins," etc.

With regard to Confession, it was lawful, he said, to acknowledge our sins to another ; but when he heard the Word of God, and repented, he believed he received forgiveness from God, and he need not go to any Confession.

When charged with saying that Holy Scripture had not been so plainly set forth for eight hundred years as it had been during the last six years, he said he had known no one except Mr. Crome and Mr. Latimer who had preached the Word of God according to Scripture, that now the New Testament in English doth preach, etc.

The next day the Bishop, after long process of threats and promises, induced Bainham to submit, and then set him to pay a fine of £20 to the King, enjoining a severe penance, and so to prison till February 17, when he was dismissed home.

Scarcely a month elapsed before he repented his abjuration, and had no rest till he had asked God and all the world forgiveness, first before the congregation of Bible-readers who met in those days in a warehouse in Bow Lane, and then, the following Sunday, he came to St. Austin's Church with the New Testament in English in his hand, and the " Obedience of a Christian Man " in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his pew declaring with tears that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did. For said he, " If I should not turn again *unto the truth* (having the New Testament in his hand), this Word of God would damn me, both body and soul, at the day of judgment." And there he prayed everybody to die by-and-by, rather than to do as he had done, for he would not

feel such a hell again as he did feel for all the world's goods. Besides this, he wrote also certain letters to the Bishop, to his brother, and to others, so that shortly after he was apprehended and committed to the Tower of London.

During his imprisonment he was very cruelly handled. For almost a fortnight he lay in the Bishop's coal-house, in the stocks, with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to Sir Thomas More's, and there chained to a post two nights. Then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled for seven nights; then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking, then to Chelsea, and there condemned, and so to Newgate, and on the last day of April, in the year 1532, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, he was burned at the stake in Smithfield, when, as the fire had half consumed his arms and legs, he spake these words: "O ye Papists, behold, ye look for miracles, and here now ye may see a miracle, for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in a bed of down, but it is to me as sweet as a bed of roses." These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his legs and arms were half consumed. (Further particulars respecting Bainham and his noble-minded wife will be given in S. Fyshe's Memoirs.)

We will now take an example from a country district, in the case of

THOMAS HARDING

(Of Chesham, Bucks, Martyr).

Harding, his wife, and many others were abjured in 1507 by Bishop Smith, and enjoined penance; some were burned on the cheek, some sent on pilgrimage; and again in 1515, again in 1522, when Harding, being put to his oath to detect others, because he did not disclose them, had to wear upon his right sleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green cloth embroidered like a faggot during his whole

life, and thus he continued until the year 1532. Then, about Easter holidays, while other people went to the church to hear the Latin service chanted, Harding took his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true living God in spirit and truth. While he was reading in a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting on a stile by the wood-side, it happened that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the officials of the town, declaring that he had seen Harding in the woods *looking on a book*. Whereupon immediately a rude rabble of them like madmen ran desperately to his house to search for books, and in searching went so nigh that *under the boards of his floor they found certain English books of Holy Scripture*! Whereupon this godly Father, with his books, was brought before John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Woburn, who, with his Chaplains, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes than with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but, fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus they sent him to the Bishop's prison called "*Little Ease*," where he did lie with hunger and pain, till at length the Bishop, sitting in his tribunal, did condemn him for a relapse to be burnt to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his martyrdom to Rowland Messenger, Vicar of Great Wickham, who, at the day appointed, with a rabble brought Father Harding to Chesham again, where the next day the said Vicar made a sermon in Chesham Church, causing Harding to stand before him all the preaching time. Then was he brought into a man's house, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the Vicar again about ten o'clock, with a company of bills and staves, to lead this godly Father to his burning, whom a great multitude both of men and women did follow, of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary the wicked rejoiced thereat. As he was brought forth they thrust in his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained to the

stake, where, desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, "Jesus, receive my spirit."

"When they had set fire to him, there was one that threw a billet at him, and many ignorant people caused their children to bear billets and faggots to the burning, as it was supposed they might have the *forty days of pardon* promised in the proclamation. Finally, when the sacrifice and burnt-offering of this godly martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes in the Dell, going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham, the Vicar, with the other priests, much rejoicing at the burning of this good man, after dinner went to Church to Evensong, because it was Corpus Christi even, where they fell to singing and Chaunting, with ringing, and piping of the Organs. Well was he that could reach the highest note, so much did they rejoice at this good man's burning."

Cases of similar cruelty occurred all over the kingdom—*e.g.*, Thomas Bennet, M.A., of Cambridge, was burnt at Exeter in January, 1531. The Bishop's scribe who wrote his sentence of condemnation confessed that Bennet was God's servant and a good man, yet at his burning "John Bamhouse, Esq., standing by, took a furze-bush upon a pike, and, being set on fire, did thrust it in his face, saying, 'Heretic, pray to our Lady.'"

Meanwhile Sir Thomas More's exertions in controversial writings were prodigious in defence of Popery. In the year 1532 alone he published, chiefly against Tyndale, more than 850 pages in folio, 580 in duodecimo, and 252 in octavo, more than 1,700 pages in all. In that year also he entrapped Fryth, the valued friend and helper of Tyndale, and burnt him in Smithfield, as we shall relate shortly.

The year 1534 arrived, and brought with it a great change in the political state of England, for now Henry VIII., with the sanction of Parliament, asserted the Royal Supre-

macy against that of the Pope. Fisher and More are attainted and thrown into the Tower as traitors, Cranmer is now Archbishop, and those high in the King's counsels are for a time more favourable to an open Bible.

An incident which has bequeathed to us a unique copy of one of the last revised editions of Tyndale's New Testament is of peculiar interest.

The following letter shows the good service rendered by Queen Anne Boleyn to one who had suffered on account of assisting Tyndale :

" ANNE THE QUEEN,

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, Mr. Richard Harman, Merchant and Citizen of Antwerp in Brabant, was in the time of the late Cardinal put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship of and in the English house there ; for nothing else as he affirmeth but only for that he still *like a good Christian man* did both with his goods and policy to his great hurt and hindrance in this world, help the setting forth of the New Testament in English. We therefore desire and instantly pray you, that with all speed and favour convenient ye will cause this *good and honest merchant*, being my Lord's true, faithful, and loving subject, to be restored to his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship aforesaid, and the sooner at this our request and at your good leizure to hear him in such things as he hath to make further relation of unto you in this behalf.

" Given under our signet at my Lord's
Manor of Greenwich the XIV day
of May.

" TO OUR TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL-BELOVED
THOMAS CRUMWELL, SQUIRE, CHIEF
SECRETARY UNTO MY LORD THE KING'S
HIGHNESS."

Tyndale, when he heard of this, was superintending the printing of his revised New Testament, and of this he caused one copy to be struck off on vellum and beautifully illustrated. No name appears within; only on the gilded edges, in faded red letters, runs the simple title *Anna Regina Angliæ*. It is now in the British Museum.

But a Higher Power than either the King or Queen of England was to be made manifest in the struggle. Tyndale himself was betrayed by a disguised friar in May, 1535, into the hands of the Emperor's soldiers, and imprisoned at Vilvorde Castle, twelve miles from Louvain, until, eighteen months later, he was led forth to die. Queen Anne lost the King's favour, and her life, yet for all this, by God's grace England was about to reap the full fruits of Tyndale's heroic labours. Tyndale, by the sincerity of his life and truth of his teaching, during his long imprisonment won over to his faith his keeper and his keeper's daughter, and others of his household. The rest that were in the castle and conversant with Tyndale reported of him that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust, and the Procurator-General, the Emperor's Attorney, being there, left this testimony of him: "*Homo doctus pius et bonus*" ("A learned, pious, and good man"). The Emperor's decree of 1530, under which Tyndale was condemned, particularly rejected the doctrine of *Justification by Faith only*, and thus, after such years of persecution, the end of Tyndale's career was come! It appears to have been on Friday, October 6, 1536, that he was led forth to be put to death.

Before leaving the castle he delivered a letter to the keeper addressed either to Mr. or Mrs. Poyntz, but no copy of it remains. Having reached the fatal spot, the noble martyr was fastened to the stake, upon which, crying with a fervent zeal and loud voice, "*Lord, open the eyes of the King of England,*" he was first strangled and then burnt.

Before the year had closed, Coverdale had completed and printed in England his second edition of Tyndale's translation of the Bible, and the next year it is still more remark-

able that the King himself sanctioned the translation of the Bible called "Matthew's," but edited by Tyndale's friend, John Rogers, and containing his revised New Testament, and such portions of the Old Testament from Genesis to 2 Chronicles as he had left in manuscript. So the life-work and prayer of Tyndale was signally accomplished.

"Servant of God, well done !
Rest from thy loved employ ;
The battle fought and victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy."

"Servant of God, well done ! well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in Word mightier than they in Arms,
And for the testimony of Truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence, for this was all thy care,
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse."

MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, Book VI.

JOHN FRYTH

(of Cardinal College, Oxon),

the associate and friend of Tyndale, the translator of the Bible, was the first Englishman after Wycliffe who, with equal clearness and fulness, wrote against the notion of a Divine Presence being locally *in* the bread and wine, and maintained that doctrine which the Church of England has since then embodied in the Prayer-Book—namely, that the Presence is *in* the believer only by faith, and not in the material substance at all. On this question he was opposed by Sir Thomas More.

That Fryth was an extraordinary young man there can be no doubt, remarkably learned and of exemplary life, and yet was only twenty-three years of age when, through Sir Thomas More's agency, he was consumed at the stake at Smithfield.

Born at Sevenoaks in Kent, educated at Eton, he removed in due course to Cambridge, where he became

acquainted with William Tyndale, through whose instructions he first received the light of the Gospel. At that time Cardinal Wolsey was preparing to build his college in Oxford, now called Christ Church, and Fryth was one of the most promising of the Cambridge men who were brought thither. Fryth was one of those young men that were accused of heresy and imprisoned in the fish-cellar. There some had died, but he was released, and saw the penance inflicted on Dalaber and Garret. He then escaped over the sea to Tyndale. For five or six years he remained there, and doubtless encouraged and assisted him in his controversial writings. (In 1531 Fryth's own work on the Sacrament reached England, and evidently caused a sensation among the clergy, for Sir Thomas More at once engaged to answer it, as well as his brother-in-law, Rastell, and Bishop Fisher; but although he wrote with extreme bitterness and contempt of Fryth's youth, they failed ignominiously, and Rastell himself was convinced of the truth.)

Fryth returned to England about July, 1532. He was first heard of at Reading in Berkshire, where Tyndale's New Testament had been carried in 1528 by Rudolph Bradford from London, and by the next year the Prior of the Abbey was a suspected man, and had been placed in confinement. Fryth seems to have gone to Reading to see the Prior for some purpose not exactly known, and by some means fell into the hands of enemies, who set him in the stocks, where, after he had sat a long time almost famished with hunger, at last he desired the schoolmaster of the town, one Leonard Cox, to be brought to him. As soon as he came Fryth began in Latin to bewail his captivity; then, conferring with him in Latin and Greek, reciting passages from Homer, etc., so won his admiration that he speedily obtained his release. This schoolmaster had studied at Cambridge, and was a popular philological writer under Henry VIII., from whom he had an annual stipend of ten pounds and a house at Reading. He became a great traveller, and was well known on the Continent.

He defended the doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ. He was intimate with Erasmus, and translated his paraphrase of Titus into English, and was living in the reign of Edward VI.

Fryth, now at liberty, went to London, but the danger was extreme, for Sir Thomas More, hearing he was in England, beset all the ways and havens and promised great rewards to any man bringing tidings of him. Accordingly, one William Holt, foreman to the King's tailor, having seen a manuscript of Fryth in the hands of a friend, begged the perusal of it, and at once took it to the Lord Chancellor. Fryth was apprehended at a place called Milton in Essex, on his way to the Continent, and committed to the Tower of London.

Tyndale's anxiety for Fryth is shown in two letters which have been preserved, the first addressed to him "Dearly beloved brother Jacob," which name he had probably assumed for safety, and giving him judicious counsel, not knowing of his arrest; the second addressed to him in the Tower, to encourage him, in such words as these: "Your cause is Christ's Gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The Lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right, for Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example," etc. And in a postscript he mentions two martyrdoms in Antwerp, four in Flanders, etc., adding: "See you are not alone. Be cheerful, and remember that among the hard-hearted in England there is a number reserved by grace, for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's ease. The Lord be yet again with you with all His plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over. Amen. Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not for her sake have the glory of God hindered.—WILLIAM TYNDALE."

After disputations with various Bishops, in which Fryth

showed great moderation and uprightness, on June 20, 1533, he was brought to St. Paul's, before the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, and there finally questioned on the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and Purgatory, and refusing to recant, was condemned to be burned, in such terms as these :

" In the Name of *God*. Amen. We, John . . . Bishop of London . . . sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God only before our eyes; do find that thou hast taught damnable opinions contrary to the determination of holy Church, especially against the reverend Sacrament . . . and have found thee, John Fryth, obstinate in thy damnable heresies, refusing to return unto the true faith and unity of holy mother Church, and as a child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy Shepherd which, with a Fatherly affection, doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions. We then, not willing that thou that art wicked shouldest become more wicked and infect the Lord's flock with thy heresy, which we are greatly afraid of, do judge thee as guilty of most detestable heresies . . . and art excommunicate, and we do now leave thee to the secular power, earnestly requiring them in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ that this *execution* and punishment worthily to be done upon thee may be so *moderate* that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the *gentleness too much mitigated*, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, *terror*, and conversion of heretics, and to the *unity* of the Catholic Faith by this our final decree."

Fryth was accordingly handed over to Sir Stephen Pecocke, Mayor of London, and the Sheriffs, and burnt in Smithfield in the afternoon of July 4, 1533, together with a young man named ANDREW HEWITT, a native of Faversham in Kent, twenty-four years of age, an apprentice with one Master Warren, a tailor in Watling Street. He seems to have been betrayed by the same spy as Fryth, and when

brought before the Bishops for examination, the Bishop of London said to him : " Fryth is a heretic, and already judged to be burned, and except thou revoke thine opinion thou shalt be burned also with him." "*Truly I am contented herewith,*" said Hewitt. Then the Bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinion, whereunto he answered that he would do as Fryth did ; whereupon he was sent unto the prison to Fryth, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The Bishops used many arguments and persuasions to allure this young man from the truth to follow them, but he would not. When they were at the stake, one Dr. Cooke, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people that they should in no wise pray for them no more than they would do for a dog. At which words Fryth, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. The wind made Fryth's death somewhat the longer, which bare the flame from him unto his fellow, that was tied to the stake at his back ; but he had established his mind with patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow than to be careful for himself.

" Patriots have toiled, and in their country's cause
 Bled nobly, and their deeds as they deserve
 Receive proud recompense ;
 But Martyrs struggle for a higher prize,
 And win it with more pain. Their blood is shed
 In confirmation of the noblest claim—
 Our claim to feed upon immortal Truth,
 To walk with God, to be divinely free,
 To soar and to anticipate the skies ;
 Yet few remember them."

COWPER.

The palm for wit and eloquence has been assigned to Sir Thomas More, but let anyone compare the " eloquent orator " with the simple asserter of Truth.

Sir Thomas writes :

" Fryth, the young man, teacheth in a few leaves shortly all the poison that Wycliffe, Æcolampadius, Tyndale, and Zuinglius have taught in all their books before concerning the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, not only

affirming it to be very bread still as Luther doth, but also, as these other Beasts do, saith it is nothing else. These dregs hath he drunken of those writers. What manner of folk Wycliffe, Ecclampadius, Tyndale, and Zuinglius be is meetly well perceived and known, and God hath in part with his open vengeance declared."

To this Fryth gives this memorable answer :

"I do neither affirm nor deny anything because Luther so saith, but because the Scripture of God doth so conclude and determine. I take not Luther for such an author that I think he cannot err, but I think verily that he both may and doth err in certain points, although *not in such as concern salvation and damnation*, for in these, blessed be God, *all those whom ye call heretics do agree right well*. And likewise I do not allow this thing because Wycliffe, Ecclampadius, Tyndale, and Zuinglius, so say, but because I see them in that place more purely expound the Scripture, and that the process of the text doth more favour their sentence. And where ye say, 'It is meetly known what manner of folk they be,' Tyndale, I trust, liveth well content with such a poor Apostle's life as God gave his Son Christ and His faithful ministers in the world, which is not sure of so many mites as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture he were more worthy to be promoted than any Bishop in England. I received a letter from him which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth thus : 'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against my conscience, nor would this day if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience that I desire to myself in this world no more than that without which I cannot keep His laws.' Judge, Christian reader," continues Fryth, "whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, dear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such as I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin

howbeit no man is innocent before God which beholdeth the heart."

Fryth not only defended his opinions by Scripture expressly quoted with a clear interpretation of their meaning, but he went on, by quoting Tertullian, Augustine, Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Eusebius, etc. These he gives in Latin, with a translation in English, bringing forward "all these old doctors that his opponents might be ashamed from henceforth to call it new learning."

SIMON FYSHE, M.A., OXON.

Before speaking of the last ten years of Henry's reign, a short account of Simon Fyshe and his brave wife and widow may be given here. He was a gentleman of Gray's Inn, and in 1525, soon after his arrival in London, he gave great displeasure to Cardinal Wolsey by taking that part in a certain play or interlude which reflected upon the Cardinal, insomuch that the very night it took place he had to flee from his house and escape across the sea, where he joined Tyndale, and wrote the remarkable book or tract called "The Supplication of Beggars," which no doubt contributed much to the general suppression of the religious houses, as it unsparingly pointed out their great abuses. In it the complaint is made to the King that his really poor and needy subjects were defrauded by the monks and friars, who had amassed wealth and perverted many charitable bequests to satisfy their own evil passions and pleasures, and praying that these holy, idle thieves should be compelled to work and lead honest lives. The object Fyshe had in view is clearly to make a way for the English New Testament, for he says the real reason why the monks and friars so much oppose the translation of the Scriptures is they know it would put an end to those abuses they desire to retain. This book was not only scattered freely in London, but came privately to the King's hands, when he is reported to have said: "If a man should pull down an old stone

wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." He was favourably impressed with the author, for he gave his wife such encouragement that she sent for him when the Cardinal was fallen into disgrace, and Henry himself conversed with him, assuring him of his favour, and gave him his signet-ring, lest he should be molested by Sir Thomas More, who was now Chancellor. But when Fyshe presented the ring to the Chancellor, he acknowledged it as a sufficient discharge for himself, but not for his wife, who had displeased the friars by not suffering them to say their Gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say it in English—an incident that shows the friars went about begging and chanting the Latin Gospels as in Chaucer's time :

" For though a widow hadde but a shoo
So pleasant was his ' In principio '
Yet wold he have a ferthing ere he went."

Wherefore next day he sent his man for her to appear before him, but she escaped this trouble because her young daughter lay sick of the plague. Her husband, Simon Fyshe, within six months after, died of the plague, and she was left a widow ; she afterwards married James Bainham, who suffered as a martyr, as before related, when she, poor woman ! was sent to the Fleet Prison and all her goods confiscated. We hear nothing more of her, except a most touching allusion to her and a high testimonial of her worth from poor Bainham in Newgate, the night before he suffered, in his conversation with Latimer.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH ALLOWED (1537).

In 1534 Convocation had petitioned the King to authorize a translation of the Bible into English, and it was probably at that time Cranmer proposed his scheme for a joint translation by the Bishops, but it was never carried out. It was Cromwell, the Secretary of State, who encouraged Miles Coverdale to publish a translation he had compiled partly

from the German version with the help of Tyndale's translation. The first edition was set forth in 1535-36, and dedicated to the King, and, although not authorized, was allowed to be circulated. A revised edition, published in 1537, bore the announcement "*Set forth with the King's most gracious licence.*" The year 1537 also witnessed the publication of *Matthew's Bible*, which was compiled by John Rogers (afterwards Prebend of St. Paul's, and first martyr in Queen Mary's days) from those portions of the Old Testament translated by Tyndale—viz., the Pentateuch, which had already appeared, and from Joshua to 2 Chronicles, that was still only in manuscript; the rest taken from Coverdale's (including the Apocrypha) and Tyndale's New Testament, according to the last revision in 1535, the whole slightly revised, and accompanied with introductions, summaries of chapters, woodcuts, and copious marginal comments. It is not agreed whether the name "Matthew" represents an unknown assistant or Tyndale. It was printed at Hamburg by Grafton and Whitchurch (1,500 copies), dedicated to Henry VIII., and cordially welcomed by Cranmer and Cromwell, who procured Henry's licence; so the very translation of Tyndale which the King and all the Bishops had proscribed in 1525 was now, in 1537, approved by the King, and publicly sold in England.

But another important step was taken: Cromwell employed Coverdale to make a fresh revision of Matthew's Bible, omitting the contentious notes, which, on account of its size, was called "The Great Bible." This, by the authority deputed to Cromwell by the King, was ordered to be set up in every parish church (1539). The difficulties overcome in printing this were remarkable. Cromwell had procured, through the King of England, permission from the French King to allow a subject of his to print this Bible in Paris, for there both the paper and the printers were more suitable for the work. It was nearly finished when the printer was charged with heresy, and 2,500 copies of the Bible were seized and burnt in Maulbert Place. The Englishmen escaped, and managed afterwards to rescue

some of the copies which had been sold to a haberdasher by the officer charged with their destruction, and also, bringing some of the type, presses, and workmen into England, printed the Bible and subsequent editions there.

The opportunity to read the English Bible was eagerly seized by many, and the eagerness to hear the Word of God is shown in many remarkable ways. Bishop Bonner complained that the people flocked to read the Bible with noise and contention even in the time of divine service, and when the preacher was delivering his sermon, and threatened the withdrawal of the privilege. In a document of 1539 it was asserted that "Englishmen sought in every church to read the Bible instead of the old fabulous and fantastical books of the Table Round, Lancelot du Lac, etc., whose impurity and vain fabulosity the light of God's Word hath abolished."

But even thus, the days of persecution were not ended; one instance preserved by Strype will illustrate this. When Foxe was inquiring in the time of Elizabeth for any records of persecution, one William Maldon related his own experience as follows :

"When the King had allowed the Bible to be set forth to be read in all churches, immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where his father lived and he was born, bought the New Testament, and on Sundays sat reading it in the lower end of the church. Many would flock about them to hear their reading, and he among the rest, being but fifteen years old. But his father, observing it, would angrily fetch him away, and have him say the Latin Matins with him, which grieved him much. This led him to learn to read; then he and his father's apprentice bought the New Testament, and to conceal it laid it under the bed-straw to read at convenient times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse concerning the crucifix, and kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breast then used, and holding up the hands to it when it came on a procession.

This, he told his mother, was plain idolatry. . . . His mother, enraged at him for this, said : ' Wilt thou not worship the cross which was about thee when thou wast christened, and must be laid on thee when thou art dead ? ' In this heat the mother and son departed, and went to their beds. The sum of this evening's conference she presently repeated to her husband, which he, impatient to hear, and boiling in fury against his son for denying worship to be due to the cross, arose up forthwith, and went into his son's chamber, and like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head with both his hands, pulled him out of the bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear, his father, seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched a halter and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him almost dead."

But dark and stormy days were fast approaching for all lovers of the truth. In the year 1539 (according to Strype) " the King took occasion to be displeased with Archbishop Cranmer and the other Bishops of the New Learning, as they were termed, because they could not be brought to give their consent in the Parliament that the King should have all the monasteries suppressed *to his own use*. They were willing he should have all the lands his ancestors gave to any of them, but the residue they would have bestowed upon hospitals, grammar schools for the bringing up of youth in virtue and good learning. The King was hereto stirred by the crafty insinuations of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and other dissembling Papists, and as an effect of this displeasure, as it was thought in the Parliament this year he made *the terribly bloody Act of the Six Articles* : whereby none were suffered to speak a word against the doctrine of Transubstantiation upon pain of being burnt to death as a heretic. And, moreover, by this act it was made felony and forfeiture of all lands and goods to defend the communion in both kinds, marriage in a priest, monk,

or nun, or to say anything against private masses or auricular confession."

Archbishop Cranmer disputed earnestly three days against it, and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, resigned his Bishopric on the passing of this Act, which was called the Bloody Statute, the Whip with Six Cords, etc.

To this Parliament of 1539 all the Mitred Abbots had been summoned, but it was for the last time. They were now called to a strict account. According to the value of money now, the revenue of Reading Abbey must have been above £30,000 a year, and that of Glastonbury £50,000, which was the largest in the kingdom except St. Peter's in Westminster.

The suppression of these religious houses was realized in those days as a necessary and providential means to gain for the country spiritual liberty. Foxe remarks: "What with the monks of the one side, and the friars of the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of St. Benedict, by the Canons of the Pope, by the doctrine of St. Dominic, and by the Testament of St. Francis, *Christ's Testament was trod underfoot*, the rule of God's Word neglected, true religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christ's servants persecuted, and the people's souls uncomfortable—yea, and the true Church of Christ almost clean extirpated had not Almighty God, who cannot forget His promise, provided remedy in time, in raising up the Lord Cromwell, his servant, and other like champions to cut up from the root the houses of them which otherwise would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord."

The monasteries had scarcely been suppressed when the enemies of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, accomplished his overthrow.

In the month of July, 1541, the Lord Cromwell, being in the Council Chamber, was suddenly arrested and committed to the Tower of London, whereat many good men that knew the truth did lament, and prayed heartily for him; so more there were on the contrary part, especially of the

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clergy, that rejoiced. For such was his nature that he never could abide any kind of Popery, nor of false religion, and less could abide the ambitious pride of the Popish Prelacy. These prelates hated him as much, which was the cause of shortening his days. On July 19 he was attainted by Parliament, in which sundry accusations were brought against him, but *chiefly* he was accused of *heresy*, for that he was a supporter of them whom they counted for heretics, as Barnes, Clerke, and many other whom he had by his authority and letters written to sheriffs and justices rescued, and discharged out of prison. Also that he did dispense abroad amongst the King's subjects great numbers of books containing, as they said, manifest heresy; that he caused to be translated into our English tongue books against the *Sacrament* of the *Altar*, and commended the same for good and Christian doctrine.

For this he was condemned, without opportunity of reply, and beheaded July 28, 1541.

Soon after this, on complaint of the Bishops, the *sale* of the *Bible* was stayed, the Bishops promising to amend and correct it, *but never* performing the same.

Grafton, the printer, was sent to the Fleet Prison, where he remained six weeks, and before he came out he was bound over in £300 that he should neither sell nor imprint any more Bibles until the King and the Clergy should agree upon a translation. Thus the Bible was imprisoned during the last five years of Henry's reign.

THOMAS GARRET, OXON

(Martyr).

Thomas Garret, or Garrard, Rector of All Hallows, Honey Lane, the first distributor of printed New Testaments in English at Oxford, was burned at the stake in Smithfield by procurement of Bishop Gardiner, on July 30, 1541, two days after the execution of the Earl of Essex, who suffered in the same cause.

Garret took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1517. We next hear of him as curate of All Hallows, Honey Lane, Cheapside, of which Mr. Forman was Rector. Then it was that he engaged in the distribution and sale of Protestant books, and especially of the New Testament. In the year 1526 he went to Oxford with copies of the New Testament, and while thus engaged a private search was made for him, whereupon a friend, Anthony Dalaber, as before described, assisted him to escape twice; but, being taken again at Hinksey, near Oxford, he was condemned to bear a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's Church to Frideswide's, and Dalaber and others with him, each having to cast a book, probably a New Testament, into a fire at Carfax. Then he was sent to Osney Abbey. We next hear of him in a letter of Cranmer to Cromwell, commending him for preferment to a living in Calaise; but he was presented, June 14, 1537, to the rectory of All Hallows, in succession to Lawrence Cook, resigned, who had behaved so brutally at the martyrdom of Fryth. The Archbishop sent him with a Dr. Champion to settle a controversy at Calaise in 1538. Latimer speaks of him as "my Chaplain."

The circumstances of Garret's death throw a strange and lurid light on the actions of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. He seems to have gained the King's ear by agreeing to his Supremacy, and taking to his own use the revenues of the monasteries, while he encouraged the King to maintain the distinctive doctrines of the Romish Church with a relentless hand.

Bishop Gardiner, hearing that Dr. Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, three leading preachers of the Protestants, were appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross in Lent, 1541, sent his Chaplain to the Bishop of London to have a place for him to preach also. Accordingly, the Bishop preached on the first Sunday in Lent, and took the Gospel for the day, containing the three temptations, and began to note the abuse of Scripture, and how the Devil goeth about tempting the world, and how a little while ago "the Devil had used the Friars to get pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was

sold for a little money. Now they be gone with all their trumpery, but the Devil is not gone yet, so now he hath contrived to offer heaven without works, it shall be given freely, without works; to get to heaven needs no works, only belief, only belief, and nothing else," etc.

After this Barnes took the same subject, and answered him in the manner of those days; Jerome preached the next Sunday, discoursing on Hagar and Sarah, to whom it was after objected that he had asserted that all that were born of Sarah were freely justified absolutely without any condition, either of Baptism or Penance. Garret's sermon must have given equal offence to Gardiner, who complained to the King in such wise that he was greatly incensed against them, and enjoined them to preach at St. Mary Spittle, and revoke the doctrine they had taught. This they did, but only to set forth the truth plainly without hindrance. The result was all were committed to the Tower soon after Easter, and there remained *without any opportunity of defending themselves, or even knowing what the charges against them were*, till they were led forth to die.

It appears that the King's Counsellors were divided, eight led by Cranmer for the Protestants, and nine led by Gardiner against them for the Romish side; so that the majority, supported by the King, condemned the three Protestants unheard as heretics, and sentenced them to be burnt, and at the same time sentenced three Papists who denied the King's supremacy to be executed as traitors at the same time; and this they were more ready to do, as the conduct of those Romanists who refused the King's supremacy was a tacit rebuke to the majority who had with the nation at large accepted it. Parliament seems to have ratified their decision.

On July 30 the three Protestant martyrs were drawn from the Tower to Smithfield on three hurdles, and on each hurdle was placed a Papist who was to suffer death, but not for his faith nor by fire, but for treason, by hanging, drawing, and quartering.

Each of the martyrs addressed the people, protesting

their abhorrence of all heresies, their loyalty to God's Holy Word, and praying for their enemies.

The remaining five or six years of Henry VIII.'s reign were years of terror such as those of Queen Mary. Men and women were frequently burnt to death, imprisoned, tortured, and cruelly done to death, chiefly among the poor and unlearned, whose names are recorded in the Book of Life. Great numbers not fully established in the knowledge of Holy Scripture were forced to recant under terror of the Six Articles. And here we may note that one of the causes, that in the providence of God contributed to the preservation of Cranmer and Latimer, was the fact that they were not as yet emancipated from the mediæval notion of a corporal Presence in the Lord's Supper, yet they at a later date bore splendid testimony to the Truth.

Bonner, Bishop of London, displayed a ferocious zeal in punishing all who called in question this doctrine. One Richard Mekins, a lad of under fifteen years of age, was heard to repeat some words against Transubstantiation, so the Bishop arrested and imprisoned him; he then brought him before a London jury with two witnesses, bidding them to bring in a verdict against the prisoner. When they had considered the case, the foreman of the jury, in answer to the Bishop's demands, said with a low curtsey, "My lord, we have found nothing," at which, says Foxe, the Bishop fared as one in an agony, and said, "Nothing? Have ye found nothing? What, nothing? By the faith I owe to God," quoth he to the foreman, "I would trust you upon your obligation, but by your oath I would trust you nothing." "My lord," quoth the foreman (whose name was W. Robins), "we can say nothing to him, for the witnesses disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the Sacrament was nothing but a Ceremony, and the other but a Signification." "Why," quoth Bonner, "did he not say that Barnes died holy?" Then, pausing awhile, he bade call in another jury. "Put in your verdict," quoth he. "My lord," saith one, "we have found nothing." "Jesus," quoth Bonner, "is not this a strange case?" After some

dispute they were sent back to reconsider their verdict, and on consenting to allow the witnesses, the jury were discharged. When Mekins was brought to the bar to receive sentence, Bonner said : " Mekins, confess the truth, and submit thyself to the King's law, that thy death may be an example to all others." When brought to the stake, he was taught to say much good of the Bishop of London, and to detest all heretics, and especially Dr. Barnes, unto whom he imputed the learning that heresy which was the cause of his death. Such was his innocence and fear, he would gladly, for safeguard of his life, have said the twelve Apostles had taught it him.

Another sad case was that of John Porter, who, for reading the Bible in St. Paul's Church, was cruelly handled, and that unto death. When the Bibles were set up by Bonner himself, this young man resorted to read in them, and because he had a good voice, and could read, many came to hear him. This offended Bonner, and he sent for him, and rebuked him sharply. Porter replied he trusted he had done nothing wrong or contrary to his notices fixed over every Bible. Bonner then charged him with expounding the text, and creating tumults, and, in short, sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered in irons, both legs and arms, and a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall of the dungeon. A kinsman, finding him in this condition, through friendship and money, obtained of his keeper that he might be had up among other prisoners that lay there for felony and murder. Porter, hearing and seeing their wickedness, exhorted them to amendment of life, and instructed them out of the Scriptures, for which he was complained of, and so carried down to the lower dungeon, and so oppressed with irons that within six or eight days he was found dead through the excessive torture.

In many of the country dioceses persecution was as hot as in London. Three men were burnt in Salisbury. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, burnt two in one day, the one for teaching the Lord's Prayer in English, the other for keeping the Epistle of St. James translated into English.

At Oxford we hear of certain who were induced to recant and do penance, as one Mr. Barber, M.A., who so ably defended himself on the question of the Sacrament from St. Augustine that "Archbishop Cranmer, with the residue of his company, were brought into great admiration of him."

In 1542 we find Henry addressing a letter to the Archbishop for the abolishing of idolatry, directing images, shrines, bones, and feigned miracles to be taken away, as leading to hypocrisy and superstition.

In the following year a Proclamation was issued permitting the eating of white meats (eggs, butter, milk-cheese, etc.) in Lent as being only a positive rule of the Church: "The King (fish being dear) of his especial grace granteth free liberty to his subjects to eat white meat in Lent, without any scruple of conscience notwithstanding."

In connection with the burning of three martyrs at Windsor—viz., Robert Testwood, a musician, and one of the choir at Windsor; Henry Filmer, churchwarden of Clewer; and Anthony Person, priest and preacher—(many particulars of which are preserved by Foxe), we read that the King, when hunting shortly afterwards in Guildford Park, and meeting the Sheriff and Sir Humphrey Foster on horseback, asked of them how his laws were executed at Windsor. Then they, beseeching His Grace of pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never sat on matter under His Grace's authority that went so much against their consciences as the death of these men did, and told His Grace so pitiful a tale that the King, turning his horse's head to depart from them, said: "*Alas, poor innocents!*" And this was not all, for on further inquiry by the King, and examination made by his direction, Dr. London, Prebend of Windsor and Warden of New College, Oxford; William Symons, a lawyer; and Robert Ockham, another lawyer, were sentenced to ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury with papers on their heads and their faces turned to their horses' tails, and to stand in the pillory for false accusation against these three martyrs.

The Parliament of 1544 passed a law for prohibiting all

manner of books on the Old or New Testament having the name of William Tyndale, or any having notes or comments, also all English books against the Six Articles. And it was further provided the text of the New Testament or Bible be prohibited to all women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving-men, yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers; yet it was permitted to noblemen, gentlemen, and gentlewomen to read, etc.

The Parliament of 1545 qualified the rigour of the Act of Six Articles slightly—a good omen; but 1546 brings before us scenes, painful indeed, but not to be consigned to oblivion on that account, for they contain deep instruction for succeeding ages.

Among others who were burnt in 1546, two men, Kerby and Clarke, of Suffolk, were brought before Lord Wentworth on the usual charge of denying a Divine Presence in the elements of bread and wine. To the inquiry whether they believed it, they said, "No," but that the Last Supper was to put all men in remembrance of the precious death and bloodshedding for the remission of sins. Sentence of death was passed, Kerby to be burnt next day, Saturday, at Ipswich, and Clarke at Bury on Monday. The next day, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the Market Place, where a stake was ready, and wood, and broom, and straw, and did off his clothes unto his shirt, having a nightcap upon his head, and so was fastened to the stake with irons, there being in the gallery of the Market Hall the Lord Wentworth with most of the justices, where they might see his execution, etc., and about two thousand people. There was also in the gallery Dr. Rugham in a surplice and stole, who, when silence was proclaimed, began his sermon, referring to the sixth of St. John. When he applied Scripture rightly, Kerby told the people he said true, and they were to believe him, but when otherwise he said: "You say not true; believe him not, good people." Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Dr. Rugham a false prophet. The Doctor then formally put the question to Kerby whether he

believed the Sacrament was the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary. He replied : " I do not so believe." " How dost thou believe ?" said the Doctor. Kerby said : " I do believe that in the Sacrament Jesus Christ instituted at His Last Supper to His disciples (which ought of us likewise to be done) is the death and passion and His blood-shedding for the redemption of the world *to be remembered* ; and as I said before, yet bread and more than bread, for that it is consecrated to a holy use." Then was Master Doctor in his dumps, and spake not a word more. Then said the Under-Sheriff to Kerby : " Hast thou anything more to say ?" " Yea, sir," said he, " if you will give me leave." " Say on," said the Sheriff. Then Kerby, taking his nightcap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it should have done him service again ; but, remembering himself, he cast it from him, and, lifting up his hands, he said the hymn *Te Deum* and the Belief, with other prayers in the English tongue. The Lord Wentworth, whilst Kerby was thus doing, did shroud himself behind one of the posts of the gallery and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby : " I have done ; you may execute your office, good Master Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his remembrance would serve, and so ended his life, the people giving shouts and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

On the Gang Monday (two days after), about ten o'clock, Roger Clarke was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate called Southgate in Bury St. Edmunds, and by the way the procession met them ; but he went on, and would not bow cap nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry, the officers being much offended. Outside the gate, where the stake was ready, he kneeled down and said *Magnificat* in the English tongue, making a paraphrase, wherein he declared how the blessed Virgin Mary humbled herself to her Saviour. " And what

sayest thou, John Baptist, the greatest of all men's children? 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.' " And thus with loud voice he cried unto the people while he was in fastening to the stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully, for the wood was green and would not burn, so that he was choked with the smoke; and, moreover, being set in a pitch-barrel, with some pitch sticking still by the sides, was therewith sore pained till he had got his feet out of the barrel. And at length one standing by took a faggot-stick, and, striking at the ring of iron about his neck, so stunned him, and struck him belike upon the head, that he shrunk down on the one side into the fire, and so was dissolved.

A month or two later, in July, 1546, the tragic death of good ANNE ASKEW, at the stake with three others, took place in Smithfield.

She was the daughter of Sir William Askew, Knight, of Lincolnshire, and had been compelled by her parents to marry a bigoted Romanist. So well informed was she in Scripture truths as to be more than a match for the Bishops on any point of divinity, and she was endowed with that supernatural firmness and courage which enabled her to leave behind for the example of posterity the picture of a Christian heroine. After the gaoler of the Tower had refused to rack her limbs beyond what he thought was right, the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, who was present to hear if she could be forced to inform against others, threw off his cloak and strained the rack again with his own hands till she was almost dead. Then she fainted, and was loosed; then, to use her own words, "after that I sat reasoning with my Lord Chancellor upon the bare floor for two long hours." After this usage they were obliged to carry her in a chair to the stake, where the Lord Chancellor offered her the King's pardon if she would recant, to which she replied in these remarkable words: "*I did not come here to deny my Lord and Master.*" With her were burned John Lascelles, a gentleman of the Court

and household of King Henry ; John Adams, a tailor ; and Nicholas Belenian, a priest of Shropshire—all condemned under the Act of Six Articles for denying that the bread and wine contained the Saviour's Presence.

A few months later, early in 1547, Henry died, and with the accession of KING EDWARD VI. a marvellous change took place.

Henry had abolished the Pope's authority, but not Popery. Edward had the honour of casting away those false perversions of the Catholic Faith which had so long supported the avarice and tyranny of Rome. The English Prayer-Book and Articles of Religion set forth the purity of primitive Christianity, and the Bible could now be freely read, and was acknowledged the supreme standard of the Faith. And we should note particularly that the return to Scriptural truth displayed the return to a spirit of Christian love. Anne Askew, when they said they would burn her, answered : " I have searched all Scripture, yet could I never find that either Christ or His Apostles put any creature to death." And in harmony with this spirit, Strype tells us that not a single Romanist was put to death in Edward's days. There stood Bishop Gardiner and Bishop Bonner, both of them examples and witnesses of the absence of anything like retaliation on the part of the Bible-readers, at the close of his reign, whom Mary at her accession reappointed, calling them " her Bishops," fit instruments of her tyranny. Mary's father, in his last illness, had struck Gardiner's name out of his will from being an executor, knowing the man ; but now Mary reappointed him a Bishop, and made him Lord Chancellor as well. He had been distinguished as one of the most determined opponents of the Scriptures in English. When the Bible edited by John Rogers was introduced into England in 1537 by Grafton, Gardiner was in France, but on his return did all in his power to thwart its circulation, arguing in his accustomed manner before the other Bishops that the Scriptures in English would be the ruin of the Church. "*Once open that door to the people, and all is lost.*"

We will now give a brief sketch of some of those who won for us an open Bible among that noble throng of two hundred and ninety martyrs of Queen Mary's reign.

JOHN ROGERS,

the editor of "Matthew's Bible," remained on the Continent twelve years after Tyndale's death ministering to a German congregation, but returned to England by the year 1550, and was admitted Rector of St. Margaret's, and after that Vicar of St. Sepulchre's and Prebendary of St. Paul's. Soon after Queen Mary's accession Rogers had to preach in his turn at Paul's Cross (in August, 1553), and then he warned the people against idolatry and superstition. He was immediately charged with having preached erroneously, but so defended himself before the Council that he was freely dismissed, but within a few days (August 16) was commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house at Paul's, from whence by the ill-will of Bonner he was removed to Newgate, and remained with thieves and murderers a long time, throughout the whole of 1554.

The year 1555 was to be distinguished for persecution. On January 1 they commenced in good earnest by the apprehension of thirty persons; on the 22nd both Rogers and Bishop Hooper were examined before Gardiner and the Council, as Queen's Commissioners; and, as if to give greater prominence to the Holy Bible, Rogers, the editor of the first English-printed Bible, must die *first of all*, attaining the honourable appellation of "*proto-martyr* in Queen Mary's reign."

Towards this good man the Lord Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner, behaved with peculiar cruelty, for he had borne him no good-will for eighteen years past. In condemning him on the 29th he attempted to cast a slur on the Bible, and to terrify the readers of it by describing Rogers in the sentence no less than three times as "otherwise called Matthew," with reference to the Bible thus known; then, having finished the sentence, gratuitously told him that

he was now "in the great curse," and that no man was to speak with him. Rogers, who throughout had spoken with great boldness as well as ability, replied: "Well, my lord, here I stand before God and you and all this honourable audience, and take Him to witness that I never wittingly nor willingly taught any false doctrine, and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you, and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true Catholic Church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false Church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of that: *I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked therefore.* But now you have done what you can, my lord, I pray you grant me one thing." "What is that?" said Gardiner. "That my poor wife, being a stranger (German), may come and speak with me as long as I live, for she hath ten children, and something I would counsel what were best for her to do." Will it be believed that, at once discovering a mind of the vilest character, the solitary request so touchingly put was *refused*!

Hooper, his honourable companion, Bishop of Gloucester, had been condemned the same day (January 29), and both were removed to a prison called the Clink, near to the Bishop of Winchester's house, where their sentence had been pronounced with closed doors, till night, when the Sheriffs with many bills and weapons conveyed them in the dark, as secretly as possible, to Newgate, even sending some sergeants before them to put out the costermongers' candles who used to sit with lights in the street; yet for all this many came forth from their doors with lights to encourage them on their way. This was on Tuesday. Early on the following Monday, February 4, Rogers, not aware of what awaited him, like Peter of old, was sound asleep, when the keeper's wife, after much ado, awoke him, and bid him make haste, for he was to be burned that day. Bonner was waiting to degrade him and Bishop Hooper in

the chapel of Newgate, after which ceremony Rogers made the same request to Bonner that he had to Gardiner, but reduced to this—"that I might talk a few words with my wife before my burning." But *even this was denied*.

The Sheriff Woodruff, before they left the prison, urged Rogers to revoke his opinions. "That," replied the martyr, "which I have preached I will seal with my blood." Then said Woodruff: "Thou art an heretic." "That," replied Rogers, "will be seen on the Day of Judgment." "Well, then," said the Sheriff, "I will never pray for thee." "But," replied Rogers, "I will pray for thee." And thus they proceeded to the stake. In walking towards Smithfield Rogers repeated the fifty-first Psalm, a portion of that blessed book he had given to his country. An immense crowd lined the streets, and among them his wife with her eleven children, the eldest named Daniel, a youth of seventeen, the youngest an unconscious babe at the mother's breast (apparently born unknown to Rogers while he was in prison). At the stake they offered him his pardon if he would recant, but he stood firm, and at last, washing his hands in the flames as if in cold water, he cried out with his final breath: "Lord, receive my spirit."

Foxe says of Rogers: "In prison he was merry and earnest in all he went about. During the year and a half he remained there he wrote much. He penned his examinations with his own hand, which else had never come to light, wherein is to be noted by the way a memorable working of God's providence; for although Bonner so sternly refused him the opportunity to speak to his wife even at the last moment, and strict search had been made to take away all his letters and writings, yet, after his death, his wife and one of her sons called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her son, casting his eye aside, to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover) lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs, who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand concerning his examinations and other

matter. In the latter end also was contained forewarnings of things pertaining to the Church, and such words as these: 'The dispersed English flock of Christ shall be brought again into their former estate or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edward's days.' It was also marked that he spake when in prison to the printer of this record, John Daye, who was then likewise imprisoned for the cause of religion: 'Thou shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the Gospel to be freely preached again,' etc.

Mrs. Rogers returned to Germany with her children, and the lad who found his father's papers was afterwards better known as an Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to different countries. He was educated at Wurtemberg, then came to England, took degrees at Oxford, married a daughter of the French Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, became Clerk of the Council, and was sent to Belgium, Germany, Denmark, etc. He was a correspondent of Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and a friend of Camden, the historian. Anthony Wood gives an epigram in praise of Oxford written by him:

"He that hath Oxford seen, for beauty, grace,
And healthiness ne'er saw a better place.
If God Himself on Earth abode would make,
He Oxford sure would for his dwelling take."

"The Martyr First, whose eagle eye
Could pierce beyond the grave,
Who saw his Master in the sky
And called on Him to save.
Like Him with pardon on his tongue,
In midst of mortal pain,
He prayed for them that did him wrong:
Who follows in his train?"

Two hundred and ninety followed in his train in the days of Queen Mary.

"A noble army—men and boys,
The matron and the maid,
Around the Saviour's throne rejoice,
In robes of light array'd.
They climb'd the steep ascent to heaven
Through peril, toil and pain:
Reader, could you, if word were given,
Step forward in their train?"

JOHN HOOPER, OF OXFORD, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER
(Made Bishop, 1550 ; burnt at Gloucester, February 9,
1555).

" Like some tall cliff that rears its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm ;
Though rolling clouds about its breast are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

John Hooper was born in Somersetshire about the close of the fifteenth century. He studied at Merton College, Oxford, and embraced the monastic life of the Cistercian Order at Gloucester, but subsequently abandoned it. His attention was first arrested by reading some writings of Zuinglius, and Bullinger on the Epistles of St. Paul, when residing in London ; then, returning to Oxford, he applied himself with great diligence to the study of Holy Scripture, " in the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer, so neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire and to open unto him the light of true divinity " (Foxe). After this, as the Act of Six Articles was in force, he escaped to Germany, and at Strasburg he seems to have met Ann, of Tserclas, who afterwards became his wife. He reached Zurich in March, 1547, and during two years enjoyed an intimate friendship with Bullinger ; but after Edward's accession he felt impelled by a sense of duty to return to England, which he did in May, 1549, and was appointed Chaplain to the Duke of Somerset. He at once devoted himself to the work of teaching, lecturing generally twice a day, and so great was his success that the churches could not contain the crowds that came to hear him. Even Dr. Smith, his maliguer, in his book on the celibacy of the clergy, is forced to confess that " he was so admired by the people that they held him for a prophet—nay, they looked upon him as some deity." In May, 1550, he was nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, but was not formally installed until the next year. This delay was owing to his

objection to an oath to the saints, and to some of the vestments formerly worn by the prelates, and then retained. In July, 1552, he commenced a visitation of his diocese, and found great ignorance and superstition among the parish priests, a great many of them confessing they had never read the Bible. This is accounted for if we remember that the English Bible had until very recently been a forbidden book, and not half the clergy knew Latin enough to enable them to read the Latin Bible. Some idea of his labours may be formed from a letter of his wife to a friend in 1551. She says: "I entreat you to recommend to Master Hooper to be more moderate in his labours, for he preaches four or at least three times every day, and I am afraid lest these overabundant exertions should cause a premature decay." In the following year he became Bishop of the united dioceses of Worcester and Gloucester.

On the death of Edward, Hooper, true to the principles which he had always professed, supported the claims of Mary to the throne, and exerted his influence on her behalf. This conduct was of no avail, however, to screen him from the fury of the Papists. Being warned by some friends to flee from the dangers which were impending, he nobly replied: "Once I did flee, and took to my feet, but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep." Hooper was one of the first that was brought into trouble. He was committed to prison in September, 1553, on a false accusation of being indebted to the Queen. His wife at an early stage of these troubles escaped with her two children to Frankfort, on the Continent. One of the crimes laid to Hooper's charge was that he, being ordained, had *dared to marry*. During the long eighteen months he was in prison Hooper was treated with much severity by Bishop Gardiner, as one of his letters shows. He was nearly poisoned by being thrust into a close, damp, and sewer-infected dungeon, and when he implored for some relief in the extremity of his sickness, his harsh keeper forbade any to help him, saying: "Let him alone; it were

a good riddance of him." He was condemned January 29, 1555, and on Monday, February 4, was formally degraded with Rogers by Bishop Bonner in the chapel of the prison, and at night was told that he would be sent to Gloucester for execution. This intelligence he received with liveliest satisfaction, praising God that he was to be sent amongst his own people to confirm before them by his death the truth he had taught them during life. "The next morning about four o'clock, before day, the keeper with others came and searched him and the bed wherein he lay to see if he had written anything, and then he was led by the Sheriffs of London and their officers forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, where six of the Queen's Guard were appointed to carry him to Gloucester. The Guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them. About the break of day he went to horse, and leapt cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known, and so took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the Guard learning of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and ever carried him to another Inn." They reached Gloucester about five o'clock on Thursday, and a mile without the town was much people assembled, who cried and bewailed his estate insomuch that one of the Guard rode post into the town to require aid of the Mayor and Sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, but there was no man that once gave any signification of such rescue or violence.

He was lodged at the New Inn, and as his Guard reported, "after his first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning"; next day, "saving a little time at meat, and when he talked with such as the Guard licensed to speak to him, he bestowed in prayer." Among those who came to speak with him was Sir Anthony Kingston, Knight, his friend, then appointed one of the Commis-

sioners to see to his execution. He found him at prayer, and as soon as he saw him he burst into tears. Master Hooper at first blush did not know him. Then said Master Kingston: "Why, my lord, do ye not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?" "Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same." Kingston: "I am sorry to see you in this case, for, as I understand, you be come hither to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing that life may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do good." Hooper: "Indeed, it is true, Master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese and elsewhere, and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter and life is sweet; but, alas! consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard *this death* nor esteem *this life*, but have settled myself through the strength of God's Holy Spirit patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of His Word, desiring you and others to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers." Kingston: "Well, my lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you, and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child, and by your good instructions, where before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same." Hooper: "If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it, and if ye have not, I pray ye may have, and that ye may continually live in His fear." After these and many other words the one took leave of the other with tears trickling down their cheeks.

The same afternoon a blind boy, after long intercession with the Guard, obtained leave to speak with Bishop Hooper. He had not long before suffered imprisonment for confessing of the truth. Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him : " Ah, poor boy ! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what consideration He knoweth best ; but He hath given thee another sight much more precious, for He hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to cry unto Him, that thou lose not that sight, for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul."

That night the Guard handed over their prisoner to the Sheriffs of the town, who would have put him for the night in the common gaol had not the Guard interceded for him, and offered to remain. They declared at large how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself on the way, adding thereto that any child might keep him.

At nine o'clock in the morning of Saturday, February 9 (the same day that Rowland Taylor suffered), he was desired to prepare himself for execution, and so led forth between the two Sheriffs, who were accompanied by a multitude armed with bills, gleaves, and weapons, which, when he saw, " Master Sheriffs," said he, " I am no traitor, neither need you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer ; for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have none of you all." And afterwards, looking upon the crowds of people who were assembled, being by estimation seven thousand—for it was market-day, and many came to see his behaviour towards death (we know there were some present out of curiosity all the way from Oxford)—he spake to those that were about him, saying : " Alas ! why be these people assembled and come together ? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past ; but, alas ! speech is forbidden me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was

appointed to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the Word of God, and because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth this kind of death is prepared for me."

So he went, as it were, a lamb to the place of slaughter. It was like a prophetic demonstration, for when Mr. Hooper was made Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester the arms which were allotted to him by the herald was this: *a lamb in a fiery bush*, and the *sunbeams* from heaven descending upon the lamb, rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his sufferings which afterwards followed.

He walked cheerfully to the fatal spot, and surveyed the preparations with a smiling countenance; then, beckoning to several of his acquaintance that they might hear his words, he knelt down and prayed. It was upon the whole Creed, and lasted half an hour. Whilst he was thus engaged, a box, said to contain his pardon on condition of his recantation, was placed before him, but as soon as he saw it he cried: "If you love my soul, away with it—if you love my soul, away with it." The Lord Chandos said: "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch quickly." Master Hooper said: "Good, my lord; I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers." Then said the Lord Chandos to his son, Sir Edmund Bridges: "Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray; if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him."

A considerable part of this prayer has been preserved. The following is from the latter part: "Full well knowest Thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant—not for my sins and transgressions committed against Thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings to the contamination of Thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of Thy truth, wherewith it did please Thee by Thy Holy Spirit to instruct me, the which, with as much diligence as a poor creature might (being thereunto called), I have set forth to Thy glory. And well seest Thou, my Lord and God,

what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for Thy creature—such, Lord, as without Thy strength none is able to bear or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with men are possible with Thee. Therefore, strengthen me of Thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience, or else assuage the terror of the pains as shall seem meet to Thy glory," etc.

His prayer being ended, he was bound to the stake with an iron hoop, and the fire applied. His sufferings were very protracted and severe, for, owing to the greenness and insufficiency of the fuel, together with the violence of the wind, the fire at first had little effect, and it was necessary to renew it on two several occasions before it reached a vital part. During the whole of this trying interval, which lasted three-quarters of an hour, the martyr's fortitude remained unshaken. The last words he was heard to say were: "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me. Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Several years ago some workmen, in levelling the ground in St. Mary-de-Lode's Square, discovered buried in the earth the butt end of the stake at which the martyr suffered, and the spot is marked by a simple monument erected by a stranger.

The following words were written by Bishop Hooper on the wall with a coal in the New Inn in Gloucester the night before he suffered :

"Content thyself with patience
With Christ to bear the cross of pain,
Who can or will recompense
A thousand-fold with joys again.
Let nothing cause thy heart to fail;
Launch out thy boat, hoist up thy sail,
Put from the shore :
And be thou sure thou shalt attain
Unto the port that shall remain
For evermore.

"Fear not death, pass not for bands,
Only in God put thy whole trust :
For He will require thy blood at their hands,
And thou dost know that once die thou must :

Only for that thy life if thou give,
Death is no death, but a means for to live.
Do not despair :
Of no worldly tyrant see thou dread.
Thy compass, which is God's word, shall thee lead,
And the wind is fair."

"So Elijah's car of glory,
Hovering o'er a world of woe,
Snatched him with contention weary
From the fierce inveterate foe,
All resplendent with the beams of heaven's glow."

ROBERT FERRAR, OF OXFORD, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
(Martyr).

"A man of unsullied reputation as well as of unshaken constancy" (Soames), Robert Ferrar was born within the Vicarage of Halifax, in Yorkshire. He received a part of his education at Cambridge, and afterwards, being a Canon Regular of the Order of St. Austin, retired to a nursery for the Canons thereof named St. Mary's College, situated in the parishes of St. Michael and St. Peter-in-the-Bayly, Oxford, where, in 1526, he became acquainted with Thomas Garret, curate of Honey Lane in London, and received from him the New Testament and other prohibited books. About 1533 he became Chaplain to Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1547, by the favour of Edward, Duke of Somerset, he was appointed Bishop of St. David's. He found the diocese in much disorder, and did all he could to check the evils that prevailed; but he was bitterly opposed by the Canons of the Cathedral of Caermarthen, whose wicked and covetous conduct in spoiling the cathedral church of plate, jewels, and other ornaments he disturbed, and therefore, after the fall of Somerset, they and other evil-disposed persons seized the opportunity to ruin him, under a false pretence of zeal for the Reformation under King Edward VI. They drew up a formal series of accusations to the King's Council in fifty-six Articles, falsely accusing him of irregularity (under the Act of Præmunire),

covetousness, negligence, and folly. Among these charges, two may serve as examples : "No. 50.—Item, he said he would go to the Parliament on foot, and to his friends that dissuaded him, alleging that it is not meet for a man in his place, he answered : ' I care not for that ; it is no sin.' "

"No. 52.—Item, he daily useth whistling of his child, and saith that he understood his whistle when he was but three days old, and being advertised by his friends that men laughed at his folly, he answered : ' They whistle their horses and dogs, and I am contented ; they might also be contented that I whistle my child.' And so whistleth him daily, all friendly admonition neglected." To this latter charge he said he did use with gravity all honest-loving entertainment of his child to encourage him hereafter willingly at his father's mouth to receive wholesome doctrine of the true fear and love of God, and saith that he hath whistled to his child, but said not that the child understood it, and that to one who found fault with it he did answer as was contained in the article.

The result of this was to bring him away from his diocese to London, and by further delays in seeking more evidence against him they brought it about that he was detained in custody under sureties till the end of King Edward's reign. Then a new trouble arose, and he was charged before the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) and other Commissioners upon the more serious matters of faith, and treated by him in the usual abusive manner.—*e.g.* :

Winchester : " Thou art a false knave."

Ferrar : " No, my lord, I am a true man, I thank God. . . . I never was false, nor shall be, by the grace of God."

Winchester : " You made a profession to live without a wife."

Ferrar : " No, my lord ; if it like your honour, that did I never. I made a profession to live chaste, not without a wife."

Winchester : " Well, you are a froward knave," etc.

The articles he was required to assent to were as follows :

1. That he, being a priest, should renounce matrimony.
2. That the natural presence of Christ was in the Sacrament under the forms of bread and wine.
3. That the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead.
4. That General Councils never did, nor can, err.
5. That men are not justified before God by faith only.
6. That the Catholic Church hath authority to expound the Scriptures, and is visible, etc.

These he refused to subscribe, and finally, on March 13, was condemned to death by the man who had been nominated to succeed him as Bishop of St. David's; and so, being degraded, he was handed over to the secular power to be burnt on the south side of the Market Cross in Caermarthen, March 30, the Saturday before Passion Sunday.

His constancy was remarkable, for it is recorded "that one Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Master Ferrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer, unto whom the Bishop answered again to this effect, saying that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood that he never moved, but even as he stood holding up his stumps, so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down" (Foxe).

In St. Peter's Church, Caermarthen, there is a monument to Bishop Ferrar inscribed :

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
ROBERT FERRAR, D.D.,
BURNT IN THE MARKET-PLACE OF CAERMARTHEN
30TH MARCH, 1555
FOR ADHERING TO THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

"The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance" (Ps. cxii.).

JOHN CARDMAKER, OF OXFORD

(Martyr).

On May 30, 1555, suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, Prebendary of the Church of Wells, and John Warne, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John's in Walbrook. Cardmaker was first an Observant Friar, and spent sixteen years at Oxford and Cambridge. At the time of the dissolution of abbeys he preached very freely against the power of the Pope, and afterwards was made Prebendary of Wells. In the reign of Edward VI. he married, and had one daughter. He became Reader in St. Paul's, where his lectures were so offensive to the Romish party that they abused him to his face, and with their knives would cut and haggle at his gown. About that time he was made Chancellor of the Church of Wells by the name of John Taylor, *alias* Cardmaker, and was looked upon there and at London as most zealous in the work of Reformation. Being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign with Master Barlow, Bishop of Bath, he was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet until the laws were altered, and the Pope was again admitted as Supreme Head of the Church, when these two were brought before Gardiner, the Chancellor, and others appointed to examine them concerning the faith. What took place at this examination is not recorded. The Bishops set it forth that they had been satisfied with their answers as agreeable to the Catholic faith, yet they were both sent again to prison—Barlow to the Fleet, and Cardmaker to the Counter in Bread Street, where he met with Lawrence Saunders when awaiting his execution (February 8). They seem to have hoped to the last to get him to recant, and kept him long a prisoner. To one who came to shake his constancy just before his death on the fatal question, the manner of the Divine Presence, he replied: "I say, and mark it well, that Christ, the night before His bitter Passion, ordained the holy and blessed Communion, and hath given commandment that

His death *should be preached* before the receiving thereof in *the remembrance* of His body broken and His precious blood shed for the forgiveness of our sins to as many as faithfully trust in Him."

The care with which he answered the charge against him is shown in a note he made the day after to prevent any misunderstanding, in which he says: "I mean not His sacramental presence, for that I confess, but my denial is of His carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers, not only for the bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution; so I say that Christ is spiritually present, too, and in all them that worthily receive the sacrament, so that my denial is still of the real carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental nor spiritual presence."

Warne, the London citizen who was burnt with him, wrote an exposition of the Creed in its separate clauses the day before suffering, containing an admirable summary of Christian belief. His note on "I believe in the Holy Ghost" closes thus: "He illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by Him we are sealed up unto the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by Him and through Him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ." At the close of it he wrote: "This is my faith; this I do believe, and am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my *blood*.—By me, John Warne."

When they were brought to the stake, the Sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked secretly with him all the time that Warne was preparing for death. The people (for the Londoners showed much sympathy with the martyrs) had heard that Cardmaker would recant; therefore, seeing this proceeding, were "in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking, indeed, that he would now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker came toward the stake,

kneeled down, and made a long prayer in silence. Still the people thought he would recant. His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly. He took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily, and so gave himself to be bound to the stake most gladly. The people, seeing this, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy (with so great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater), saying: 'God be praised! The Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker! The Lord Jesus receive thy spirit!' And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed through it to God's blessed rest and peace."

A LETTER OF CARDMAKER TO A FRIEND.

"The peace of God be with you. You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but am as ready to give my life as any of my brethren that are gone before me, although by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth to me, and shortly shall appear to all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance, as I doubt not but He will. Commend me to my friend, and tell him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all His elect. My riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as in riches, for that count I now to be very riches. Thus fare you well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with some of my adversaries, learned men. I find that they be but Sophists and Shadows."

HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER

(Martyr).

Born about 1488 ; burnt October 16, 1555.

"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out."

Latimer was the son of one Hugh Latimer of Thurcaston, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation. The date of his birth is uncertain, and generally said to be 1490, but Augustine Bernher, in his dedication to Latimer's sermons on the Lord's Prayer, speaks of him as above sixty-seven years of age in King Edward's reign. When fourteen he was sent to Cambridge, and in 1509 elected a fellow of Clare Hall. Zealous he was then in the Popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as he himself confessed, that, being a priest and using to say Mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his Massing wine with water ; and, moreover, that he should never be damned if he were once a professed friar. His own account of himself is : "I was as obstinate a Papist as any in England, insomuch that when I should be made Bachelor of Divinity my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon and his opinions. Bilney heard me, and perceiving that I was zealous without knowledge, came to my study, and desired me to hear his confession. I did so, and to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many years, so from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God, and forsook the school doctors and such fooleries." He now preached the Word of God, and visited the sick and the prisoners, and his remarkable success aroused "whole swarms of friars and doctors against him." The Bishop of Ely forbade his preaching, but he could still preach in the church of the Augustine Friars. He was accused, and summoned before Cardinal Wolsey, but so acquitted himself that he returned

with the Cardinal's licence to preach. At Christmas, 1529, he preached the famous sermon 'on the Card,' and aroused still more opposition. One Buckenham, Prior of the Black Friars, preached in like manner, bringing out his Christmas dice or five places of the New Testament against translating it into English—*e.g.*, a baker reading "a little leaven corrupteth the whole lump" will leave our bread unleavened, or the simple man reading "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out," will make himself blind, and fill the world with beggars. Latimer replied in the afternoon by showing that nobody misunderstood such figurative expressions, for, said he (looking toward the friar, who sat over against him), "when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad as to take it to be a fox, but they understand thereby what craft and hypocrisy is often hid in these friar's cowls, and how we should beware of them."

In March 30, 1530, he preached at Windsor before the King, who "greatly praised Master Latimer's sermon," and he received £5 for his services. December 1, 1530, he wrote that remarkable letter to King Henry VIII., pleading for free liberty to read the Holy Scriptures and against all persecution. He was made one of the royal chaplains, and preached very freely and boldly against the vices of the Court. In 1531 he was presented by the King to the benefice of West Kington in Wiltshire. Even here he was not left in peace, but was cited to London, and kept by Convocation a long time from his parish. In 1534, through Cranmer, he was appointed to preach before the King, and in August, 1535, he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, and preached before Convocation on June 9, 1536, urging the reformation of the clergy with his usual vigour. The next year he took part in setting forth "The Institution of a Christian Man," but on the passing of the Act of Six Articles in 1539 resigned his bishopric, and was placed "in ward" in the house of Dr. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and finally cast into the Tower in 1546 till the death of Henry. At the accession of Edward he was

offered again the Bishopric of Worcester, but declined, preferring to devote himself to constant preaching and obtaining redress for the injured and oppressed among the poor, residing with Archbishop Cranmer at Lambeth, where every morning, winter and summer, he would be at his book about two o'clock in the morning. On Queen Mary's accession in July, 1553, he was brought before the Privy Council, and committed prisoner to the Tower. In April, 1554, he and Bishop Ridley were conveyed with Archbishop Cranmer to Oxford to hold disputations on Transubstantiation, the result being they were adjudged heretics and handed over to the secular power, and committed to Bocardo, the common gaol in Oxford, where they lay till September, 1555. Then, as if the Church of Rome were unwilling that any blood should be shed except by her own hands, the Bishops Latimer and Ridley were subjected afresh to a mock trial under the professed sanction of a Papal commission, were again condemned, and finally led forth to martyrdom on October 16, 1555.

Master Ridley was led forth first in a fair black gown, and after him Master Latimer in "a poor Bristow freeze frock all worne, with his buttoned cap and kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to the feet, which stirred men's hearts to pity them." When they arrived at the stake near Balliol College (now Broad Street), Dr. Smith preached on the verse, "If I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." After this the martyrs desired to speak, but were forbidden, whereat Latimer said, "Well, there is nothing hid, but it shall be opened." They were then prepared for death, and of Latimer it is recorded: "Whereas in his clothes hee appeared a withered and crooked sillie olde man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold." Lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, "God is faithful Who does not suffer us to be tempted above our strength," and as a lighted faggot was laid at Bishop Ridley's feet, he said to him: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the

man ; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out." Then, as the fire reached him, he embraced it, and soon died, exclaiming, " Oh, Father of Heaven, receive my soul ! " Ridley suffered longer, and by mismanagement of the fire, his feet and legs were burnt away before it touched a vital part.

Latimer's Thoughts and Words on Death.—" Ye ought not to be afraid of death : for the death of Christ our Saviour hath killed our death, so that it cannot hurt us. Notwithstanding death hath bitter potions, but what then ? As soon as he hath done his office we are at liberty, and have escaped all peril . . . death is a sleep to all them that be faithful and fear God, from which sleep they shall rise to everlasting life."

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON

(Martyr).

Born about 1500 ; burnt October 16, 1555.

" In spite of Rome, for England's faith he stood,
And in the flames he sealed it with his blood."

QUARLES.

Ridley was born at Willimontswick Castle in Northumberland, of an ancient Border family, learned his grammar in Newcastle, went to the University of Cambridge about 1518, where in short time he became Fellow of Pembroke College ; after which he went to Paris and studied at the Sorbonne ; returned to England in 1530 ; became Public Orator at Cambridge, chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, Master of Pembroke College, and Chaplain to King Henry in 1540 ; appointed Bishop of Rochester in 1547, and thence translated to the See of London in 1550, " in which calling and office he so occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ that never good child was more loved of his dear parents than he of his flock and diocese." He was a man of vast reading, ready memory, wise of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his proceedings, and one of the brightest lights of the

Reformation. He began each day with private prayer for half an hour, thence to business or study till ten, when the household were assembled for family prayer, then dinner ; the rest of the day was spent abroad, or at home with his books till 11 p.m., including a brief interval for his favourite game of chess. As an illustration of his gentle nature, it is recorded that while he was at his Manor of Fulham, he always sent for Mistress Bonner, the mother of Dr. Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining his, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungay, Dr. Bonner's sister, saying, "Go for my Mother Bonner," who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated and welcomed as though it had been his own mother, being never displaced although the King's Council were present, saying, when any of them were there, "By your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my Mother Bonner."

This kindly treatment stands in sad contrast to the ungrateful and cruel returns made by Bishop Bonner when again placed in authority, for not only was he a bitter enemy of Ridley, but of all his relations, especially his sister and her husband George Shipside, whom he would have burnt had he been able. Writing early in Queen Mary's reign, he thus speaks of him : "I was yesterday restored to my bishopric. I would that ye did order all things at Kidderminster and Bushley at your pleasure, not suffering Sheepshead or Shipside to be any meddler there or to bring any thing from thence : and I trust at your coming up to Parliament I shall so handle the said Sheepsheads, and all other calvesheads, that they shall perceive their sweet shall not be without sour sauce. This day it is looked that Mr. Canterbury (Cranmer) must be placed where it is meet for him. He is become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things, but that will not serve. Commend me to your bedfellows most heartily, and remember the liquor that I wrote you for. This bearer shall declare the rest, and also put you in remembrance for *beeves* and mutton for my house fare."

When Mary came to the throne Ridley was sent to the Tower with Latimer, and as the prison was full they were thrust into the same chamber with Bradford. Here they remained about six months, during which time they read over the New Testament together, and confirmed one another in the faith. In March, 1554, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were taken to dispute with certain commissioners at Oxford on the doctrine of Transubstantiation before a public and hostile assembly, for Cranmer on the 16th, for Ridley on the 17th, and for Latimer on the 18th of April. It was conducted in a most unfair and shameful manner—conducted in Latin by many acute and unscrupulous opponents, and here and there a sentence translated in a partial manner for the unlearned to raise hisses, shouts, and peals of laughter against the Reformers. It was almost a miracle that anything like a true account should have been preserved. "I have but one tongue," cried Ridley: "I cannot answer at once to you all." Yet even so his skill and learning made a deep impression. They were of course condemned as heretics, and kept for eighteen months longer, until they were finally committed to the flames.

Ridley wrote a most pathetic and touching farewell to all his friends, and to those places where he had ministered, in which he mentions with great affection Pembroke College—"In thy orchard I learned all St. Paul's Epistles by heart, the sweet smell of which I trust I shall carry with me to heaven."

The means of Ridley's conversion appears to have been the reading of Bertram's (or better known as Ratramn's) book on the Sacrament, by which he was led to search more accurately the Holy Scriptures and the doctrine of the primitive fathers.*

* Paschasius Radbert, who in the year 844 became Abbot of Corbie, in France, wrote a book on the Sacrament, and appears to be the first to introduce the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and Ratramn, who was a monk of Corbie, and afterwards Abbot of Orbais, wrote a strong and effective book against it by order of Charles the Bald. These books caused much dispute, and prove the controversy to have been far earlier than even Wycliffe's days.

On October 15 Dr. Brooks, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshall, with divers others, came to Master Irish's house, then Mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley was close prisoner, and when the Bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was, offering him the Queen's mercy if he would revoke his erroneous doctrine. "My lord," quoth Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein, and as for the doctrine I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound and according to God's Word (to His glory be it spoken), the which doctrine, the Lord God being my Helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag and breath is within my body, and in confirmation *seal* the same with my blood."

Gloucester: "Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become One of the Church with us, for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the Catholic Church cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the Pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same Church." Ridley: "I marvel that you trouble me with such vain and foolish talk; you know my mind on that usurped authority." And hereupon they proceeded to degrade him by putting on him the apparel belonging to the Mass, and as they were doing this Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish Bishop and all that foolish apparel, calling him Antichrist and the apparel foolish and abominable—yea, too fond for a vice in a play—insomuch that Bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley answered him that he would still speak against their abominable doings whatever happened to him. Bishop of Gloucester: "Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped." At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks: "Sir, the law is he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr. Ridley,

looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said : " Oh, well, well, well !" When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake, called the singing-bread, they made him hold the same in his hands. Dr. Ridley said : " They shall not come in my hands, for if they do they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hands, etc. After that, they put a book in his hands, and read certain things in Latin meaning " We do take from you the office of preaching the Gospel," etc., at which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up to heaven, saying : " O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness." Then they took away one by one the Mass vestments till they came to the surplice, when Dr. Ridley said : " What power be you of that you can take from a man that which he never had ? I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had." So, when all this ridiculous degradation was ended, Dr. Ridley said very solemnly to Dr. Brooks : " Have you done ? If you have, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters."

Brooks answered : " Master Ridley, we may not talk with you ; you be out of the Church, and our law is that we may not talk with any that be out of the Church."

Then Master Ridley said : " Seeing you will not suffer me to talk, nor vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience ? I refer my cause to my Heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss when it shall please Him." At which words they would be gone, but Ridley added : " My lord, I would wish that your lordship would peruse a little book of Bertram concerning the sacrament." To this he made no answer. Then Ridley said : " Well, it boots not ; I will say no more. I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you speak to Her Majesty the Queen on behalf of many poor men, and especially my poor sister and her husband who standeth here. They had a poor living granted by me while I was in the See of London

(by way of leases, etc., for which all fines had been duly paid); the same is now taken from them by Dr. Bonner without law or conscience." And, reading a written supplication on their behalf, when he came to the place where his sister was mentioned, he wept so that he could not speak for a while. Then he said: "This is nature that moveth me, but now I have done." Bishop Brooks confessed it was a lawful and honest request, and thought it would have been granted had not Ridley opposed the Queen's proceedings, and so refused to forward it, and, calling in the City bailiffs, delivered Ridley to their charge.

This same evening being the night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs, and as he sat at supper at Master Irish's, he bade his hostess and the rest to his marriage, for to-morrow, said he, I must be married; and asking his brother-in-law whether his sister would find in her heart to be there, he replied: "Yea, I dare say with all her heart," at which he was glad. While they were thus speaking Mistress Irish wept. Ridley comforted her, saying, "Oh, Mrs. Irish, you love me not, now I see well enough, for in that you weep it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed, you be not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself; though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet." When they rose from the table, his brother-in-law offered to watch with him all night, but he said: "No, no, that you shall not, for I mind (God willing) to go to bed and to sleep as quietly to-night as ever I did in my life."

The next day, when everything was in readiness, Ridley was led down Cornmarket Street arrayed in a fair black gown, furred and faced with foins such as he was wont to wear, and a velvet furred tippet, and velvet nightcap on his head, and a corner cap on the same, going in a pair of slippers between the Mayor and an alderman. Passing under Bocardo he looked up, hoping to have seen Cranmer at the glass window, but Cranmer was then busy with

Friar Soto, and did not see him. Ridley, looking back, saw Latimer following him, to whom he said : " Oh, be ye there ?" " Yea," said Master Latimer, " have after as fast as I can follow." On reaching the stake (near Balliol College), Ridley, earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven, then, with a wondrous cheerful look, ran to Master Latimer, embraced and kissed him, saying : " Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that he kneeled down by the stake, kissed it, and effectually prayed ; behind him Latimer kneeled as earnestly calling on God as he. After that they arose, and conversed a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution removed themselves out of the sun. Then Dr. Smith began his sermon, which lasted a quarter of an hour. Then Ridley and Latimer kneeled towards Lord Williams of Thame, Dr. Marshall, the Vice-Chancellor, and the other Commissioners, who sat on a form thereby, and requested permission to say a few words. Immediately the bailiffs and the Vice-Chancellor ran hastily to Ridley, stopping his mouth with their hands, and said : " Master Ridley, if you revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty to do so, but also your life." " Not otherwise ?" said Master Ridley. " No," quoth Dr. Marshall. " Well," replied Master Ridley, " so long as breath is in my body I will never deny my Lord Christ and His known truth : God's will be done in me." Then, rising up, he said with a loud voice : " Well, then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." And Latimer added his old posy : " Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." Then they were commanded to make themselves ready. Master Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law, Master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the sergeant that kept him. Ridley gave away his dial and many other things to his friends

and standers-by ; Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose and other array, which to look unto was very simple. Then Ridley, being in his shirt and standing upon a stone, said, holding up his hand : " O Heavenly Father, I will give unto Thee most hearty thanks for that thou hast called me to be a professor of Thee even unto death. I beseech Thee, O Lord God, take mercy on this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same around them, and as he was knocking in the staple Ridley took the chain in his hands and said : " Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course." Then, after a while, a blazing faggot was brought and laid at Ridley's feet. It was at that moment old Father Latimer uttered the prophetic words : " Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man ; we shall this day light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out."

Dr. Ridley, as he saw the fire flaming towards him, cried with a loud voice : " *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum* " (" Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit "), and then, and oft after, in English : " Lord, Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer, as recorded elsewhere, died very soon, but Ridley suffered terribly. The wooden faggots were built up round him too high, and his feet and legs only felt the flame. On his crying for more fire, his brother-in-law, not understanding or well advised, heaped more faggots on him, which made it worse, so that he leaped up and down under them, crying, " I cannot burn " while Foxe relates his legs were clean consumed before it touched a vital part, and they " saw his side clean, shirt and all untouched with flame." At last one with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and the flame ascending, Ridley leaned towards it, and the flame touching the gunpowder, he fell over the chain down at Master Latimer's feet, and so expired. The sight moved hundreds to tears.

" Well," quoth Foxe, " dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already ; what reward remaineth for

them in heaven the day of the Lord's glory when He cometh with His saints shall, I trust, shortly declare."

"Not afraid,
Though to the death, against such cruelties,
With inward consolations recompensed
And oft supported, so as shall amaze
Their proudest persecutors."

JOHN PHILPOT, FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD
(Archdeacon of Winchester, B.C.L.)

Born 1511; burnt 1555.

"Constans Martyr pro Verbo Dei, regnante Maria Regina."

Bodl. MS. Rawl.

John Philpot was son of Sir Peter Philpot, Knight of the Bath, of Compton, in Hampshire, and twice Sheriff of that county. Educated at Winchester School, he excelled in the study of languages, and his fondness for Latin and Greek led him not only to study the writings of the Fathers, but also to excel in Hebrew, and he thus attained a sound knowledge of the Old and New Testament. He was admitted "a true Fellow" of New College in 1534, and took the degree of B.C.L. After this he travelled in Italy, and on his return to England appears to have been ordained, and we find him reading lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans in the Cathedral of Winchester, "which, though gratis, were not acceptable to the Cathedral Clergy" (A. Wood). He was appointed Archdeacon of Winchester about 1550. Queen Mary ascended the throne in 1553, and at her command a Convocation of Clergy was summoned, and met at St. Paul's in October. Philpot was present, and took an active part in the discussions, boldly defending the truth at the peril of his life. The course of the proceedings in this assembly is instructive. Care had been taken that the result should be favourable to Rome. Many of the leading Protestants were in prison. At the commencement of the proceedings Master Weston, the prolocutor, although there had been promised a free dis-

cussion, exhibited two bills for all to sign—the one affirming Transubstantiation, the other condemning the Catechism that had been set forth in Edward VI.'s reign as unsynodical and heretical. All signed except six, of whom Philpot was one, who also defended the Catechism, and requested that at least some of those who had set it forth should be heard, and that Dr. Ridley and Master Rogers might be allowed to speak on the question in dispute. This was not granted, but on the following days an irregular disputation was held against the six Protestants (some of whom, seeing how little it would avail, declined). Philpot, replying to one of the arguments successfully, was bidden to be silent, and later on was frequently interrupted and threatened with imprisonment by the prolocutor.

After this Philpot was excommunicated as "contumacious," without any personal citation, illegally deprived of his archdeaconry, and committed to the King's Bench Prison, where he remained about two years. Here he wrote many letters, and conferred with other martyrs, as Hooper, Farrar, Taylor, and Bradford. From this prison he was removed to Newgate, October 2, 1555, then committed to the custody of Bishop Bonner, who placed him in his coal-house, and after many examinations and much cruel usage, sentenced him to death, and sent him in charge of the Sheriffs to Newgate.

As he went, he said to the people: "Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day!" Arrived at Newgate, the chief keeper, Alexander, saluted Philpot thus: "Ah, hast thou not done well to bring thyself hither?" "Well," said Master Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance." "Well," said Alexander, "I will show thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me." Then said Master Philpot: "I pray you show me what you would have me to do." He said: "If you would recant, I will show you any pleasure I can." "Nay," said Master Philpot, "I will never recant whilst I have my life that which I have spoken, for

it is a most certain truth; and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said: "This is the saying of all the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear.

Upon Tuesday, December 17, there came a messenger from the Sheriffs, and bade Master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer and be burned at a stake with fire. Master Philpot answered: "I am ready; God grant me strength and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving Him most hearty thanks that He of His mercy had made him worthy to suffer for His truth. In the morning the Sheriffs came, according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him and said: "Ah, dear master, farewell." His master said: "Serve God, and He will help thee." When he was entering into Smithfield the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily: "What! will ye make me a Pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But in first entering Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words: "I will pay my vows *in thee, O Smithfield*." And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake and said: "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then, with an obedient heart, full meekly he said Ps. cvi., cvii., and cviii., and when he had ended his prayers he said to the officers: "What have you done for me?" and every one of them declared what they had done, and he gave to each of them money. "They then bound him unto the stake, and set fire to that constant martyr who, the 18th day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a Lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes."

Philpot translated Calvin's "Homilies," "Chrysostom

against Heresies," etc., and during his imprisonment wrote some admirable letters to his friends, besides an account of all his fifteen examinations, which were marvellously preserved, in spite of all the care his enemies took to destroy them. The following is part of a letter to John Careless, then a prisoner for the same cause :

" Whom God hath once sealed for His own him He never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the Devil's child to lie still. This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are a child of God. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations, for the Devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me withal in a corner at the Bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to Mass when the Bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks by God's grace rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God and be joyful that it hath pleased Him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for His name's sake. Commend me to Master Fokes, and thank him for his law-books ; but neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty. I would for your sake their unjust dealing were noted unto the parliament house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days ! I have answered the Bishop meetly plain already ; and I say to him if he will call me in open judgment I will answer him as plainly as he will require ; otherwise I have refused ; because I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light ; and that I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written far uneasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you. Written in a coal-house of darkness out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ, John Philpot.

" Death, why should I fear thee, since thou canst not hurt me,
But rid me of misery unto eternal glory ?"—J. P.

BARTLET GREEN, ESQ., OF OXFORD, BARRISTER
(Martyr, 1556).

Towards the close of his course at the University of Oxford, having made good progress in secular learning, he was led to understand the light of the Gospel by often repairing to the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the Divinity Lecture at Oxford. From Oxford he went to the Temple in London, where he remained till Queen Mary's reign, when some of his letters written to his friend Christopher Goodman, then an exile for the faith, were intercepted, and he was arrested, and, after long detention in prison, was sent to Bishop Bonner for final examination and sentence on November 17, 1555.

In supporting his belief that the words "This is My body" were not spoken literally, but figuratively or spiritually, he gave the following reasons :

That Christ took bread and affirmed it was His body, yet it is evident bread is not literally His body, nor His body bread, as the terms are not identical ; therefore it must have been said in like sense as when Christ said, " I am a door," " a vine," " a way," etc.

It was called bread in the same place afterwards.

If it be denied to be bread, by the same reason it may be denied to be the body.

His body was like ours, sin only excepted, and our body cannot be in two places at once, yet His body ascended up to heaven.

And, His disciples took it as no wonder or miracle.

When the Bishop and his doctors could not answer him by Scripture or reason, they drew up a statement for him to sign, in which we read :

" Bartlet Green, born in the parish of Basing-hall, in the city of London, and of the age of twenty-five years . . . confessed he had not attended Mass, in the reign of Edward VI. or Mary, but had received the holy Communion at two Eastertides in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers of King Edward, and that in receiving the 'Sacramental Bread'

they received material bread, &c., and he doth also refuse to attend Mass, as he cannot worship the body and blood of Christ, that is pretended to be there, and further he hath not confessed to a priest because he is not bound by God's Word to make auricular confession.—B. GREEN."

On these charges he was brought to St. Paul's on January 15, to be condemned to be burnt with six others. Being asked whether he would recant, he said : " Nay, I will not ; but, my lord, in old time there were no men put to death for their conscience until such time as Bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them, but excommunication, my lord, was the greatest penalty which men had for their conscience, and no man was put to death for his opinions." Then Bonner said : " St. Augustine wrote to temporal rulers commanding them to punish their bodies also." " But," said Green, " he bade not put them to death." " He bade punish them," said Bonner. The Bishop then pronounced sentence against him, and committed him to the Sheriffs. As they led him to Newgate there met him two gentlemen, his especial friends, whose sorrow for him was shown by their tears, to whom Green said in such words as these : " Ah, my friends, is this your comfort ye are come to give me in this my occasion of heaviness ? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter to you ?" And thus declaring his most peaceable and quiet mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others until he came to the prison doors.

January 27 was fixed for the burning of Green and four other men and two women in one fire at Smithfield. One of the women—Joan Warne, aged twenty—had seen Bonner put to death her own mother and stepfather in the May and July preceding, and now herself was condemned, having attended to her parents' wants in prison. Green on his way to and at the stake repeated :

" O Christ my God, sure hope of health,
Besides Thee have I none ;
The truth I love, and falsehood hate :
Be Thou my Guide alone."

During his imprisonment in Newgate some of his friends desired him to write somewhat in their books as a remembrance. In Master Hussey's of the Temple he wrote :

" Behold thyself by me—such one was I as thou,
And thou in time shalt be even dust as I am now."

B. G.

In a book of W. Fleetwood of the Temple :

" My resting road is found ; vain hope and hap, adieu ;
Love whom ye list with change : death shall rid me from you."

B. G.

Thus died Bartlet, or rather Bartholomew, Green, who was condemned on his own confession for having adhered to the Protestant Communion Service of the Church of England in the days of Queen Mary.

THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
(Martyr).

Born July 2, 1489 ; burnt March 21, 1556.

Thomas Cranmer was born at Aslaeton in Nottinghamshire July 2, 1489. At an early period of his life he lost his father, and his mother sent him to Cambridge at the age of fourteen. In due course he became Fellow of Jesus College. When twenty-three he married, by which he forfeited his fellowship, but his wife dying twelve months afterwards, he was reinstated in his former fellowship, which he continued to hold, though much urged by the agents of Cardinal Wolsey to join the new foundation at Oxford. In 1519 he commenced the study of the Scriptures, which he pursued with unremitting industry till he took his degree of D.D. about his thirty-fourth year. In 1528 he retired to Waltham Abbey with two pupils on account of an infectious disorder breaking out at Cambridge. Meeting there Fox and Gardiner, his opinion concerning the divorce between Henry VIII. and his Queen Catherine so much attracted their attention that they told the King, and he was summoned to Court, when he

was required to digest his views in writing, which he did to the satisfaction of the King. A short time afterwards he was appointed one of the Commissioners from the Universities to determine the cause of the divorce against the Pope's dispensation. Soon after he was appointed Archdeacon of Taunton, as well as one of the King's chaplains. In 1529 he was sent as an Ambassador to Rome upon the same question, but returned unsuccessful. In January, 1531, he was sent as Ambassador to the Court of Charles V., and on his return was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, to which he was consecrated March 30, 1533, seven months after the death of Archbishop Warham; for it was with great reluctance that he accepted it, and only after making a solemn protestation that he intended not by the oath it was customary to take to the Pope to bind himself to do anything contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogative, or the laws of the realm, nor to bind himself from speaking his mind freely concerning the reformation of religion, the government of the Church of England, etc. The Archbishop now did all he could to bring about a reformation in the Church and a translation of the Bible, with permission for the people to read it. He was also employed in settling the succession to the Crown upon the heirs of Anne Boleyn, in which he was opposed by Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, who, in consequence of their refusal to take the oath required in the Act, were beheaded, although Cranmer used every endeavour to save their lives.

In the year 1537 Cranmer had the satisfaction of seeing Tyndale's translation of the Holy Scriptures printed in English, and by the assistance of Lord Cromwell he caused it to be set forth by the King's authority.

From the year 1538 to 1541 Cranmer had to endure a succession of disappointments which much tried his spirit. He saw the Act of Six Articles passed, notwithstanding his opposition to it, and Cromwell, his friend and associate, beheaded. Surrounded by bitter enemies, he was in constant peril, but was more than once saved by the friend-

ship of the King. In 1544 Cranmer obtained some mitigation of the Act of Six Articles, and the introduction of an English Litany with responses. Dangers again thickened round him ; and even after the death of Henry, January 28, 1547, his enemies ceased not to oppose him.

Edward VI. was only ten years old, and the state of religion was very unsettled, so that much difficult work fell to the Archbishop, whose labours were incessant. In 1549 (January 15) the *English Liturgy*, or Book of Common Prayer, was finished, and received the final sanction of the Legislature.

Peter Martyr, writing to Bullinger, said : " The labour of the most reverend the Archbishop is not to be expressed. For whatever has hitherto been wrested from the Bishops we have acquired solely by the industry and activity and importunity of this prelate." He obtained orders for the abolition of Popish books of devotion, and completed the form of service for the ordination of the clergy. He also entertained many of the foreign divines at Lambeth with whom he took counsel.

In October, 1550, the *Communion-table* was substituted for the *Roman altar*, to do away with the Popish idea of a sacrifice, though several Bishops resisted the change. About this time the English Liturgy was revised by the Archbishop, assisted by Ridley and Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, in which some of the suggestions of the foreign divines—Peter Martyr, Bucer, and others—were adopted. The result of these labours was that the Book of Common Prayer was reduced very nearly into the form in which it stands at the present time, the subsequent changes in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II. having been chiefly intended to render it less objectionable to the opponents of the Reformation.

The Archbishop had already received an order of the King in Council to draw up certain Articles of Religion, and in May, 1552, the first draft was laid before the Council. In September it was revised by the Archbishop ; on the 19th it was submitted to Sir John Cheke, tutor to Edward VI.,

and to Mr. Secretary Cecil. On October 2 the draft was handed over to six of the royal chaplains—viz., Harley, Bill, Horne, Grindal, Perne, and John Knox, the Scotch Reformer. On November 20 it was returned to Cranmer, who again revised it, and returned it to the Council, requesting that all the clergy might be called upon to subscribe to it as the Book of Articles. This order was not issued till June 9, 1553.

Cranmer now desired to reform the ecclesiastical laws, but the project was not accomplished owing to the death of King Edward. At the accession of Queen Mary Cranmer was summoned before the Council and commanded to keep his house at Lambeth. Soon after he was ordered to give in an inventory of his goods, and in the middle of September, 1553, he was committed to the Tower. In the month of November he was attainted of high treason, and with others was at length pardoned, but kept in prison and accused of heresy. The prisons being full, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford were thrust into one chamber, where they employed the time in reading over very deliberately the New Testament on the subject of the sacramental Presence. On April 10, 1554, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were removed to Windsor, and thence to Oxford, to dispute on the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which lasted from April 14 to 18. The Commissioners, to the number of thirty-three, sat before the altar in St. Mary's Church, and the Mayor of Oxford was directed to bring in Dr. Cranmer first. After certain preliminaries, the following Articles were set forth : (1) That Christ's true and natural body (as born of the Virgin Mary) was really in the Sacrament after the words of consecration ; (2) that no other substance did remain ; (3) that the Mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. Whatever arguments were used against these Articles were of no avail. The result was that victory was ever claimed on their behalf, and on April 20 the three martyrs were brought to St. Mary's to receive sentence as heretics ; to which the Archbishop replied : " From this your judgment

and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose Presence on the Altar I am thus condemned." He was then sent back to prison in Bocardo, at the North Gate. A long period of imprisonment followed, partly owing to the fact that the Papal authority had not yet been fully re-established, and it was about eighteen months after that Ridley and Latimer were burned (October, 1555), and a new commission issued for the trial of the Archbishop, which sat in St. Mary's Church, September 12, 1555, and charged him with adultery, because he had married a wife; with perjury, because he had broken his oath to obey the Pope (regarding not his protestation); and with heresy, because he had written and spoken against the corporal Presence in the Sacrament. To each charge he made answer, and was then cited to appear at Rome within eighty days. Then he was sent back to prison and kept there until sentence of condemnation was received from Rome (dated December 14). Whereupon the two Bishops—Bonner of London, and Thirlby of Ely—appointed as the Pope's delegates, came to Oxford, and, sitting in the choir of Christ Church, February 14, 1556, read the Pope's letters, where it was falsely stated "that all things had been indifferently examined, and nothing had been wanting to enable Cranmer to make his necessary defence"; whereat the Archbishop could not but exclaim (for he had not only been kept in prison, but had not been allowed any counsel or advocate, even at home): "God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." They then proceeded to degrade Cranmer with every mark of indignity and cruelty. They put on him all the garments and ornaments of an Archbishop, only in mockery everything was "made of canvas and old clouts," which one by one they took from him with the accustomed formalities; Thirlby, an old friend of Cranmer, scarcely refraining his tears, while Bonner rejoiced to do it roughly and offensively. Towards the close he appealed by a written document which he drew from his left sleeve to the next General Council, and

called upon certain standing by to be his witnesses ; but his appeal was disregarded. At the end they put on him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, full "bare and worn," and "evil favouredly made," and a townsman's cap on his head, and sent him to Bocardo, Bonner telling him "he was no lord any more."

Cranmer now wrote two remarkable letters to the Queen. In the first he spoke of the grief it was to be accused by her to the Pope, as though the King and Queen of England could not do justice to their subjects, but must seek it at a stranger's hand in a strange land—*i.e.*, Rome. Then he explained his refusal to acknowledge the Pope, because he had sworn not to obey him, and the laws of the realm were in many things contrary to those of the Pope, and the statute of Præmunire forbade recourse to Rome, and that the laws of the Pope not only subverted those of the nation, but the laws of God—*e.g.*, the recital of the Church services in an unknown tongue, contrary to St. Paul ; the denial of the cup to the laity, contrary to Christ's command ; the claim of the Pope to dethrone Kings, when God said we were to obey them—that the Pope, in short, played the part of Antichrist in his claim of universal Bishop ; and he referred to his book as touching the Sacrament that Christ spake figuratively, to which all ancient writers agreed ; and, finally, pointed out some of the difficulties of the Roman view. In the second letter he pointed out how contrary to one another were the oaths she herself had taken to maintain the Pope's laws and the laws of the land.

We now come to a somewhat obscure part of Cranmer's life. Nearly three years he had passed in prison, with the prospect of death before him, and he had courageously spoken in defence of the truth, in spite of all the threats and hardships he had endured. His enemies now changed their plans ; he was treated with respect and favour, taken from prison to lodge in the house of the Dean of Christ Church ; his table was well supplied ; opportunities for walking and playing bowls were given him ; he was falsely informed of the good opinion the Queen had of

him, and told that by yielding somewhat to her wishes and authority, as a good subject was bound to do, he might prolong his life, and, more than that, his usefulness to the Church; and it would be an easy thing to sign some general statement of his submission to her authority, and all would be well. Having got him first to sign one or two general and ambiguous statements, they presented to him a fuller and more definite one, which was drawn up for him, and which he unhappily was induced to sign. This was witnessed by Henry Sydall and John de Villa Garcina, a Spanish Friar, and hastily printed and circulated abroad. When they had thus obtained their object, all their fair promises were forgotten; Cranmer was sent back to Bocardo, and the secret arrangements made for his burning were completed. Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, was sent by the Queen to preach his funeral sermon, and he arrived at Oxford and saw Cranmer on March 20, when he exhorted him to continue in the faith, but gave him no hint of what was coming. The next morning—March 21—he came again early in the morning and asked Cranmer if he had any money, to which he replied he had none. Then Dr. Cole gave him fifteen crowns to give to the poor (a frequent dole at funerals in those days), and so went away. Then the Spanish friar brought him a paper to sign and acknowledge as his recantation before the people. Cranmer, however, said nothing, but, suspecting what they intended, put another paper in his bosom ready for this emergency. It was a rainy day; therefore they led him first to St. Mary's Church, two friars on either side chanting psalms on the way, and as they entered the church they began the Song of Simeon—*Nunc Dimittis*. An immense crowd filled the place. He was led to a stage slightly elevated over against the pulpit, clothed in a bare and ragged gown, to be despised and mocked at by all. While standing there awaiting the arrival of Dr. Cole, he, after a while, turned towards the pillar close by, and, lifting up his hands, prayed earnestly to God. At last Dr. Cole began his sermon, in which he declared Cranmer was adjudged to die for the

part he took in dissolving the marriage of the Queen's father and mother, and driving out the Pope's authority, and as a great author of heresies, etc. ; and he finally called on Cranmer to confess his faith and his return to the Romish Church. Accordingly, Cranmer, who during the sermon had wept much, turned to the people and addressed them thus : " I desire you, well-beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me to forgive me my sins, which are great, and among all the rest one offence which doth vex and trouble me, and of which you shall hear more in his proper place"—and then he took out of his bosom the prayer he had composed, and recited it with many tears ; then, rising, he exhorted the people to love God and not the world, to obey the King and Queen, to love one another, and to be charitable, especially to the poor in that time of famine ; then he declared his faith according to the Apostles' Creed, and now " I come to the great thing which troubleth my conscience—that is, the setting forth a writing contrary to the truth, written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be, and which I now utterly renounce—that is, all papers written since my degradation—and forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore ; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned ; and as for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine ; and as for the Sacrament, I believe, as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester, the which book teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."

Whereupon all were amazed, and all his enemies confounded, beginning to accuse him of falsehood and dissimulation. " Ah, my masters," said he, " do not take it so. Always I have been a hater of falsehood, and never before this time have I dissembled"; and in saying so " all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes," and ere he could say more concerning the Sacrament, they

cried out against him, and Dr. Cole exclaimed : " Stop the heretic's mouth and take him away." Then they pulled him off the stage, and raging round him like wild beasts, led him to the place where Ridley and Latimer suffered. There, making but a short prayer, he made himself ready for burning. His feet were bare, and his head, when his caps were removed, was seen to be without a single hair, while his beard was long and thick, covering his face " with marvellous gravity," moving the hearts of friends and foes to behold him. Cranmer gave his hand to certain old men and others standing by, bidding them farewell ; but when he offered it to one Ely, a priest and Fellow of Brasenose, he refused, saying it was not lawful to salute a heretic, etc. The iron chain was then fixed round him, and fire set to the wood, when he, reaching forth his right hand to the flame, held it so steadfastly in the fire that all might see it was first burned, exclaiming, " This unworthy right hand "; and thus standing, he seemed to those that saw him to move no more than the stake to which he was bound, praying as long as breath lasted, " Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," and so he fell asleep. More worthy, as Foxe remarks, was he to be called St. Thomas of Canterbury than he whom the Pope did falsely before so canonize.

After Cranmer's death there were very few learned men who suffered ; most of those left (upwards of 1,000) had fled to the Continent ; yet still the rage of cruelty went on, and tradesmen, mechanics, labourers, and women were burnt, at times as many as six together. At the end of Strype's catalogue of 288 persons who were burnt during the short reign of Mary he significantly adds, " besides those that dyed of famyne in sondry prisons." But it is certain that of all who suffered in those terrible days, none among them did such irreparable damage to the Papal cause as Cranmer ; nor are we as English Churchmen indebted to anyone more than to him for the excellencies of our Scriptural Prayer-Book, Homilies, and Articles ; and by the providence of God even his fall declared both the evil of the Romish tyranny and the power of God's grace. Like

Peter he fell, but rose again to strengthen that flock of Christ who through much tribulation have entered the kingdom of heaven.

"Remember Peter's word, nor confidently say,
'I never will deny my Lord,' but, 'Grant I never may.'"

JULIUS PALMER, FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD
(Martyr).

Julius Palmer was born at Coventry, where his father had been some time Mayor, and educated at Magdalen College School, Oxford, where afterwards he became Fellow of the College and reader in logic A.D. 1550. At this time he was not only noted for his secular learning, but he was a very ardent upholder of the Romish faith. He would not attend the common prayers or sermons during the reign of Edward VI., but was so zealous against all that favoured the Reformation that he was expelled the College for popery, and became a teacher of children. On the accession of Queen Mary, he was restored as a well-known and zealous friend of the Pope. But already a change was beginning in his mind, as an incident preserved by a friend of his, John Bullingham, who had left England during Edward's reign and returned at the beginning of Queen Mary's, shows: Palmer, meeting him in St. Paul's, where a rood was set up, after greeting him, said: "Bullingham, is this our God for whom we have smarted?" "No, Palmer," said he; "it is an image of Him." "An image!" replied Palmer. "I tell thee plainly, Bullingham, John Calvin (whose 'Institutions' I have read since our departure) telleth me plainly by God's Word it is an idol, and the Pope is Antichrist, and now I believe it, for I feel it sensibly. . . . I would rather have these knees pared off than I will kneel to yonder jackanapes (meaning the rood). God help me! I am born to trouble and adversity in this world." "Well, Palmer," said Bullingham, "is the wind in that corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to

Little Ease at the end. . . . I will never have to do with you again."

He now became very inquisitive how the martyrs took their death. He sent some at his own expense to witness Hooper's death at Gloucester, and report to him ; and when Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford he went himself to see them, and on his return broke out with these words : " O raging cruelty ! O tyranny tragical and more than barbarous !" From that day he earnestly studied the Bible and Peter Martyr's " Commentaries on 1 Corinthians," etc. Now he became as zealous for the truth as before he was against it, and had as little delight in the Romish services, which he once loved, " as a bear to be bated and worried with dogs." He would absent himself, or get up in the midst of the service and go out of the chapel, to escape what he now considered as idolatrous adoration. He felt he must leave his college or be again expelled, and so he departed to Reading, where he continued a time as schoolmaster. Here he was betrayed by some false friends he had trusted, who stole some of his papers from his study, and then threatened to send them to the Council if he did not leave Reading and give over the school to a friend of theirs. Thus he had to depart suddenly, leaving behind him for his enemies much of his goods and a quarter's stipend.

He now went to Ensham, where his mother dwelt, hoping to get some legacies due to him by his father's last will. Kneeling before her for her blessing, as he was accustomed to do, " Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine wherever you go," said she. He, amazed at such a greeting, said : " Oh, mother, your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved ; but God's curse you cannot give me, for He hath already blessed me." " Nay," said she, " thou wentest from God's blessing into the warm sun when thou wast banished for a heretic out of that worshipful house at Oxford, and now for the like knavery art driven out of Reading too." " Alas, mother !" said he, " you have been misinformed ; I was not expelled or driven away,

but freely resigned of mine own accord. . . . And heretic I am none." "Well," said she, "I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father and I and all our forefathers have done, but as we were taught by the new law in King Edward's days, which is damnable heresy. "Indeed, I confess," said he, "that I believe that doctrine, which is not heresy, but truth, and it is not new, but as old as Christ and His Apostles." "If thou be at this point," said she, "I require thee to depart from my house and out of my sight, and never take me for thy mother hereafter. . . . As for money or goods, I have none of thine; thy father bequeathed nought for heretics. Faggots I have to *burn thee*; more thou gettest not out of my hands." "Mother," said he, "whereas you have cursed me, I again pray God to bless you and prosper you all your life long." And with such sweet words and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed, which so far mollified her that she hurled an old angel after him, saying, "Take that to keep thee a true man."

Then poor Palmer knew not what to do, but thought he might, by returning to Reading, get some of those things that belonged to him. He had scarcely arrived and taken a private room at the Cardinal's Hat, when another deceitful enemy, pretending to be his friend, met him and found out his intentions. That night, when he had retired to rest, the officers and their retinue came rushing in with bills and lanthorns, seized Palmer, carried him away, and cast him into a vile dungeon, and there fastened him, hanging by his feet and hands, so that his body could not touch the ground, and here he remained in the stocks for ten days. He was at last brought before the Mayor, and charged with many imaginary crimes by those false brethren, including treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery, which, when they could not prove, they scrupled not to accuse him of heresy by producing the writings they had stolen from his study. The result was he was sent to Newbury to appear before the Chancellor of Salisbury in the choir of the parish church, and was there examined on the following charges:

(1) That he denied the Pope's supremacy. (2) That he maintained there were but two sacraments. (3) That the host was an idol, and therefore he went not to Mass. (4) That there is no purgatory. (5) That he was a sower of sedition. Palmer and two others were, of course, condemned, and the same day at five o'clock, July 16, 1556, the Sheriff, Sir Richard Abridges, and a great company of weaponed men led them to the stake. Arriving there, Palmer repeated Ps. xxxi. Then two priests came up to him, exhorting him to repent. Palmer replied: "Away! away! Tempt me no longer. Away, I say, from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears." Then they were bound to the stake, and Palmer said: "Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end, and for Christ's sake beware of Popish teachers, for they deceive you." As he spoke a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a faggot at his face, that the blood gushed out in divers places. As the fire began to burn them, they lifted up their hands to heaven, saying "quietly and cheerily," "Lord Jesus, strengthen us; Lord Jesus, assist us; Lord Jesus, receive our souls"; and when their heads fell together, as if already beyond all suffering, Palmer, as if aroused from sleep, moved his tongue and lips, and was heard to pronounce this one word—"Jesus."

Thus we have traced for 156 years—that is, from the burning of W. Sawtre in 1400 until the death of Palmer—how Oxford continued to furnish that glorious company of learned men, who died as martyrs for those Protestant principles on which our Church of England is founded.

There remain still the Oxford Exiles to be noticed—at least, two of them who were authors, as Foxe and Jewell. It is difficult to judge between those two ancient worthies as to whose writings exercised most influence, Foxe's recorded deeds of the martyrs or Jewell's celebrated "Apology for our Church's Separation from Rome," both works being honoured for 100 years with a place in every

parish church and Bishop's palace in the land, until Archbishop Laud, another Gardiner in doctrine and practice, had them removed.

JOHN FOXE,

the Martyrologist, Master of Arts, Magdalen College,
Oxford ; Prebendary of Salisbury

(Born 1517 ; died 1587).

This celebrated man was born at Boston in Lincolnshire, the year that Luther published his "Theses," 1517. At sixteen he was sent to Brasenose College, Oxford, and afterwards became Fellow of Magdalen in 1543. For some years after his going to the University he was strongly attached to the superstitious errors of Popery, but in the midst of those stirring times he gave himself very earnestly to the study of history ; and, to arrive at a just conclusion, he diligently compared the claims of Rome with Primitive Christianity, and, by the blessing of God in the study of the Scriptures in their original tongues, he was led to accept the doctrine of Justification by Faith, which once he despised.

His application, says his son, was great, and before he was thirty years of age he had read all that either the Greek or Latin Fathers had left in their writings, the schoolmen in their disputations, and the councils in their acts and decisions ; he had, moreover, a competent knowledge of Hebrew.

The change that took place in his mind was one which involved great searching of heart. He would leave his study or his bed, and retire to a neighbouring grove where the students of Magdalen delighted to walk, and there, amid darkness and the solitude of night, ponder over what he had read, and with heavy sighs and tears pour out his soul to Almighty God. This habit of his was observed, and spies watched him, and when he at last ceased to attend the College Chapel and even the University Church, he was accused of heresy, and expelled the College July 22, 1545,

only two years after he had been made Fellow. He then became tutor in the family of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, Warwickshire, where he first met his future wife, a visitor at the house, whose home was at Coventry. After his engagement at Charlecote he spent a short time with his wife's father at Coventry—as long as it was prudent—and, being refused shelter by his stepfather at Boston, he went to London, and there suffered great destitution. One day, sitting in St. Paul's Church, faint with long fasting, his eyes hollow and his face thin from want of food, a stranger came and sat beside him, and, thrusting some money into his hand, bade him be of good cheer, as soon he would see better times. Foxe never could discover who it was that gave him such seasonable help, but within three days someone waited on him from the Duchess of Richmond, with a fair offer of employment as tutor to the children of the Earl of Surrey, for they had been committed to her care.

This post he accepted, and went to Reigate, probably early in the year 1547; for the Earl of Surrey had been unjustly executed January 19, 1547, about nine days before the death of Henry VIII., and the Duke of Norfolk, his father, remained a prisoner in the Tower during King Edward's reign.

Three years later, on June 23, 1550, Foxe was ordained deacon by Bishop Ridley, and was one of the first to preach the Gospel at Reigate. He remained here six years, during which time he not only won the affection of his pupils, but prepared part of his great work on the history of the martyrs, for the period from Wycliffe to the year 1500, which was published in Latin (1554) soon after he left England.

When Mary ascended the throne, July 6, 1553, the old Duke of Norfolk was released, and Foxe's pupils were entrusted to White, Bishop of Lincoln. Foxe remained in London and elsewhere, till the death of the old Duke, in September, 1554, when his late pupil became Duke of Norfolk, who promised him every protection, and

wished him to remain with him. However, one day Bishop Gardiner called to pay his respects to the young Duke, and inquired particularly after Foxe, desiring to see him. Foxe happened to suddenly enter the room, but immediately withdrew, not knowing Gardiner was there. The Bishop asked who that stranger might be. "He is my physician," said the Duke. "I like his appearance," said the Bishop, "and when necessity requires I will employ him." The Duke now perceived that Foxe was in great danger, and made immediate arrangements to facilitate his escape to the Continent, sending him to Ipswich, where he provided a lodging at a solitary farm-house, lest he might in the seaport town be betrayed to the Bishop's men. Foxe and his wife accordingly set sail with all secrecy, but a storm arose, and next day they were driven back to the same place from which they had sailed the day before. Meanwhile a messenger from Bishop Gardiner had followed him, and entered the house he had lodged in the night before with a warrant to bring him a prisoner to London. Failing in his search, he followed to the seaport, and learnt that he had just sailed, and was scarcely out of sight, so, happily, he at once returned to London. Foxe, hearing this, took horse as if to leave the town, but, returning the same night after dark, persuaded the captain to set sail again, which he did before it was light, and two days after landed him safely at Nieuport, in Flanders (October, 1554). He soon after reached Strasburg, where he found Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who helped him much in collecting information for his enlarged edition of his History, first published in Latin at Basle, in 1 vol., folio, 1559. He spent some time at Frankfort and at Basle, where he, by revising, correcting, and writing for the press, maintained himself, with much privation, as the printers requited his laborious services with bare shelter and bread and water; and he had to wait for remittances from friends in England to return home. On his return to England in 1559, the Duke of Norfolk welcomed him to his manor-house, Christ

Church, London. He was in a bad state of health, and the Duke sent him into Norfolk, where he resided with Dr. Cox, who was now the Bishop (1560). His eldest son was born here, and he was busily employed in preaching, re-writing, and adding to his book, etc.; but in 1563 he was again in London superintending the publication of the first English edition (March 20, 1563). This year he was inducted to the canonry and prebend of Shipton, in the Cathedral of Salisbury, but so poor was he that he petitioned the Queen to release him from paying the first-fruits. . . . Soon after this he began to prepare a revised second edition, which was published early in 1571. Meanwhile he was persuaded by some of his many friends to preach at St. Paul's Cross, which, after much hesitation, he did, on Good Friday, March 20, 1570, taking for his subject "Christ Crucified." On April 3, 1571, Parliament and Convocation met, and confirmed the Thirty-nine Articles, and, among other things, ordered that the new edition of his "Acts and Monuments" should be placed in the churches, and in the halls and houses of the Bishops, Archdeacons, and others, to be read and studied by the people, and there they remained till Archbishop Laud removed them.

The next great work which engaged the attention of Foxe was a collection of ecclesiastical laws—"Reformatio Legum"—which Cranmer had designed if his life had been spared, and which Foxe drew up under the direction of Archbishop Parker, and published. It was not, however, acted upon, as the Queen seemed opposed to any rules which would limit her authority, and the design fell to the ground. It was, perhaps, as well, for the minds of men were not yet wholly emancipated from the intolerance of the Middle Ages and the claims of Roman judicial procedure. In the following year, June 3, 1572, we find him attending his old pupil and friend, the Duke of Norfolk, to the scaffold, when he was executed for some indiscreet connection with Mary, Queen of Scots.

In 1575 Foxe interceded very earnestly on behalf of certain Anabaptists who were condemned to death by burning.

They were not English, but Dutch, and he pleaded to the Queen on their behalf. "They ought," he says, "to be restrained, but *not* burnt after the Roman and not Christian example. . . . I would not countenance their errors, but spare their lives, etc. Are there not other modes of punishment—banishment, exile, imprisonment, etc. ? But one thing I deprecate—that the fires of Smithfield, which have slumbered so long, should now be rekindled." He addressed others besides the Queen for them—the Lord Treasurer, Chief Justice, etc.—and appealed to the poor creatures himself, but every effort was in vain. Many, chiefly Papists, would not be content with anything less than the stake, and the Queen herself seems to have wished to intimidate the extreme sectaries, and create a good impression among her Romish subjects.

The third edition of Foxe's book appeared in 1576, and the closing years of the venerable martyrologist passed peacefully away. He fell asleep in London, April 18, 1587, worn out rather by age and study than by any known disease. He was greatly mourned by all ; but, unwilling that his sons should be present at his departure, he would not have them sent for, and even three days before his death sent the son who was with him on a journey, so that he might not return till he had passed away. His body was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, which was untouched by the Fire of London, and a memorial inscription was erected on the south wall by his eldest son, Samuel.

A few additional words may be added respecting Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," the fruit of such ceaseless labours. It appears from the author's own notes that he was eleven years compiling it, and was favoured with the particular assistance of several distinguished persons. Among these was Aylmer, Bishop of London ; Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury ; Thomas Norton, a celebrated lawyer and M.P. (who also helped in Sternhold and Hopkins' version of the Psalms ; he married the only daughter of Archbishop Cranmer) ; besides these, the Bishop of Gloucester, Morris,

Cranmer's secretary, etc. Grindal, besides giving advice, supplied various materials for the work (the dialogue between Custom and Truth is Grindal's). During Queen Mary's reign he established a correspondence with England for the purpose of getting a full account of all the persecutions, and it is said that it was owing to Grindal's strict regard to truth and accuracy that the book was so long in hand.

Foxe published the book first in Latin, but, at Grindal's suggestion, it was afterwards set forth in English, for the sake of greater usefulness, at London, in 1563; the second revised edition in 1571; the third in 1576; the fourth in 1583; and the ninth in 1684—this was in three volumes, with copper instead of wooden plates, and it is said that the promoters of it had received a promise from Charles II. that the order granted in Queen Elizabeth's time for placing the book in the common halls of Archbishops, Bishops, etc., should be revived.

A FEW TESTIMONIALS TO THE VALUE OF THE BOOK.

The three Archbishops of Queen Elizabeth's reign—Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift—greatly commended the work. Whitgift spoke of Foxe as "that worthy man who hath deserved so well of this Church of England."

The indefatigable Strype, of a later age, adds his testimony thus: "Mr. Foxe hath done such exquisite service to the Protestant cause in showing, from abundance of Ancient Books, Records, and Registers, and choice Manuscripts, the encroachments of Popes and Papelings, and the stout oppositions that were made by learned and good men in all ages and in all countries against them, especially under King Henry and Queen Mary in England. He hath preserved the memories of those holy men and women, those Bishops and Divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and deaths willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and His Gospel, and for refusing to comply with the Popish doctrines and superstitions. And

Mr. Foxe must not pass without the commendation of a most painful searcher into records, archives, and repositories of original acts, and letters of State, and a great collector of manuscripts. The world is infinitely indebted to him for abundance of extracts thence, and communicated in these volumes. And as he hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in all his transcriptions" (Strype's "Annals").

JOHN JEWELL, BISHOP OF SALISBURY

(Born 1522; died 1571).

"The worthiest Divine that Christendom hath bred for some hundred of years."—RICHARD HOOKER.

Jewell is described by one of his earliest biographers as "such a Jewel in all respects, such nature with such grace, so heavenly learning in so heavenly a life, such eminent gifts in such eminent place, so fruitfully distilling their wholesome and sweetest influence, to the refreshing and cherishing of the Church of God, have not frequently been found in these later times." He was born at Buden, in Devonshire, May 24, 1522, and educated at Merton College, under the tuition of Parkhurst, from the age of thirteen. On the plague visiting Oxford, Parkhurst and his pupil retired to Cuxham, where they compared Tyndale's translation of Scripture with Coverdale's, each having one, when Jewell showed such discrimination that Parkhurst exclaimed, "Surely Paul's Cross will one day ring of this boy."

Jewell removed to Corpus Christi College in 1539. To acquire facility in speaking, he would occasionally resort alone to the woods at Shotover, near Oxford.

While at Witney, where it was the custom for those of his college to retire when the plague was at the city of Oxford, he caught a rheumatic affection, which resulted in a lameness which never left him. In 1547, when Edward came to the throne, Peter Martyr, by Cranmer's influence, came to Oxford, and was made Divinity Professor, and a friend-

ship sprang up between them which was of great service to Jewell, especially when they both sought an asylum on the Continent during Queen Mary's reign. Soon after her accession Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, sent visitors to several colleges at Oxford, among them to Corpus Christi, where "they found no footsteps of the Reformed religion, except in that essential ornament thereof, Mr. J. Jewell, who, on his refusal to be present at Mass, was expelled the college. He had been chosen to pen the first congratulatory letter to the Queen in the name of the University, an office imposed on him by those who wished him no good ; yet he so penned the same in general terms that his adversaries missed their mark " (Fuller).

Jewell for a time found refuge at Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College), and received pupils, one of whom—Edward Year—wrote a poem against the Mass, for which he was ordered by Walsh, Dean of Corpus Christi, to be whipped in the hall with rods and blows to the number of his verses, which amounted to about eighty, as Fuller conceives. In April, 1554, we find Jewell acting as notary to Cranmer and Ridley ; immediately afterwards he was called on to subscribe. Reluctantly he signed his name ; from that moment he was a heart-stricken man. He resolved on fleeing, but was only just in time to escape apprehension ; had he remained one night longer, he would probably have been delivered over to Bonner. Lame as he was, he set off to walk to London, and when, exhausted in body and mind, he could go no farther, he cast himself upon the ground, as he thought, to die. But, by God's good providence, help was at hand : Augustine Bernher, Latimer's faithful attendant, found him, and, like the Good Samaritan, set him on a horse, and led him to the manor-house of English in the parish of Nuffield, near Nettlebed, then occupied by a pious widow, Mrs. Warcup, who refreshed him, and sent him on to London, by which means also he escaped his enemies, and finally reached Frankfort, March 13, 1555.

At Frankfort Jewell was anxious, as soon as possible, to make an open confession of his fault. Accordingly, the

next Sunday, having entered the pulpit, he "made an excellent sermon, and in the end of it openly confessed his fall in these words: 'It was my abject and cowardly mind and faint heart that led my weak hand to commit this wickedness.'"

From Frankfort he removed to Zurich, and while there kept up a correspondence with his friends in England until Mary's death (November 17, 1558), when he returned home, his journey lasting fifty-seven days. He arrived, however, before Parkhurst, who, having taken what he thought a safer route, was robbed.

Jewell, on his return, was entertained for almost six months at the house of a London citizen, till he was sent for by the Lord Williams of Thame to visit him in his sickness. Many of Jewell's letters of about this date have been preserved, and are very interesting. An extract or two will lift the veil a little off those times:

To Peter Martyr.

"LONDON, 20 March, 1559.

"Much health! We have at length arrived in England—that is to say, on the fifty-seventh day after leaving Zurich. But why should I enter upon a long preamble, to you especially, who rather wish for facts, and set but little value upon these tedious narrations? Two famous virtues—namely, Ignorance and Obstinacy—have wonderfully increased in Oxford since you left. Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester (the man who degraded Ridley, etc.), a beast of most impure life and yet more impure conscience, a short time before his death exclaimed in a most woeful manner that he was now condemned by his own judgment. Your renowned antagonist, Smith, the Champion of Chastity, has been taken in adultery, and on that account—a most unusual thing in any other case, while Mary was yet living—by a new and unprecedented method of proceeding, was ordered to retire from the theological chair. Bruerne, too, has been compelled, for a similar offence, only far more

flagitious, to relinquish his professorship of Hebrew. I write nothing about Marshall for fear of defiling my paper.* You have heard respecting Weston. But why, say you, do you make mention of such persons? Simply that you may learn by what kind of *judges* it was fitting that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer should be condemned!"

From a letter dated "London, 1559, May 22":

John Jewell to Henry Bullinger.

"Our Universities are so depressed and ruined that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us, and even they are so dejected and broken in spirit that they can do nothing. That despicable Friar Soto and another Spanish Friar I know not who have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness. You would scarcely believe so much desolation could have been effected in so short a time. So that, although it would give me the greatest pleasure, under other circumstances, to see even a dog from Zurich in England, yet I cannot at this time recommend you to send your young men to us for either a learned or religious education, unless you would have them sent back to you wicked and barbarous."

This sad account of Oxford's relapse into old Popish ignorance is confirmed by Anthony Wood. He says that at Oxford, during Mary's reign, "the ingenious arts were held in contempt, the Divinity School in Queen Mary's time was seldom opened, the stipend of Queen Margaret's lecture was converted to the use of repairing the Schools. For sermons scarcely was one in a month; Public Lecturers,

* The *Marshall* mentioned by Jewell was Richard Marshall, Dean of Christ Church, a violent Papist under Queen Mary. He dug up the body of Peter Martyr's wife in the cathedral, and cast it into his dung-hill, and he it was who so narrowly watched to prevent Jewell's escape from Oxford.

through idleness or insufficiency, seldom performed their offices. The Greek tongue fell into its old decay, and in general was such contempt of learning and disuse that there was no appearance of, or was a way left to, the miserable arts. For six years there were only three Degrees in Divinity," etc. (A. Wood).

Jewell was made Bishop of Salisbury in 1560, and gave himself unsparingly to the work.* In 1562 appeared his famous work, "The Apology of the Church of England," in Latin and English; but a more perfect English version appeared in 1564.

Unsparring labours in preaching, visiting his diocese, and in controversial writing filled the remainder of his days, and he died September 23, 1571, before he was fifty years of age.

Here we may close our list of Oxford Reformers, though there are many others worthy of remembrance in the early days of Queen Elizabeth.

Enough has, however, been said to make clear some very important facts connected with this 150 years' struggle for an open Bible.

First, the Reformation in England did not centre round one distinguished leader, as in Germany, France, or Scotland, but it was rather the Bible itself, which, when translated into the English tongue, aroused one after another to carry on the struggle—Wycliffe's Bible, then Tyndale's, which, with the printing-press, opened up a wider field; then the gradual enlightenment of Cranmer by its means. His work done, the study of that Book raised up other workers, and at last it was recognized by general consent as the highest authority (Article VI.), and made the Magna Charta of Christian liberty.

Secondly, the two parties in the struggle are also clearly distinguished. We see the Bishops and all the powers of the

* He had, however, some scruples against the Episcopal vestments, and more particularly against the retention of material crosses and the crucifix in the churches.

Romish priesthood arrayed against the Bible. They tried their utmost to keep the knowledge of it from the laity, as they felt that if they knew it, their absolute power would then be gone; for so Bishop Gardiner admitted: "Once open that door, and all is lost." Therefore they described it as most dangerous for the people, and set forth the clergy and the doctrines of the Church as the only way of salvation; and from their own ignorance of the Bible on the one hand, and the superstitious system of the so-called Christian religion on the other, they persecuted the readers of Holy Scripture in just the same way as the pagan priests of ancient heathen Rome persecuted the early Christians. How are we to account for this? Simply by remembering that the barbarous tribes of Europe, when they received Christianity, retained much of their innate barbarity, and as the light of Scripture failed or was withdrawn, there was wanting that light which can alone bring salvation and "is able to save the soul."

The lovers of Holy Scripture were therefore a standing protest against the evil passions of men and the claims of a system which encouraged or tolerated so much superstition, and they were persecuted as the early Christians, misrepresented, and accused of crimes of which they were innocent, regarded as seditious men and enemies of God. He who read Wycliffe's Bible was termed a "Wycliffite" or "Lollard." He who read Tyndale's New Testament, and rejoiced to hear of Luther's plea for an open Bible, was scornfully called a Lutheran, or, in later days, a contemptible Calvinist. In short, as the Jews of old said to St. Paul in Rome, "As for this sect, we know it is everywhere spoken against."

Thirdly, the result of the struggle was to vindicate the right of every man, woman, and child to have the full liberty to read and follow the Word of God without any hindrance or opposition from any source, even though it be a portion of the Church of Christ. The Holy Scriptures should be as accessible to all as the gifts of air and the light of day; they are as necessary spiritually and morally, and

not to be withheld or overridden by any human authority whatsoever.

The gains of the Reformation are great and glorious, and have been enjoyed for many years, and now a new and daring attempt is made to rob the people of them. The new Oxford teachers follow the old lines of error when they depreciate the Bible and exalt the Church, saying the living Word is a "dumb teacher and cannot remonstrate," "obscure and unsafe" when alone.

Let us learn from history the peril of this path, and ask again for the old path—the path trod by Apostles and prophets.

"Thy Word is a light to my feet and a lamp to my paths."

VERSES INSERTED IN CERTAIN BIBLES PUBLISHED IN LONDON, 1575, IN
THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

1

"Here is the Spring where waters flow
To quench our heat of sin ;
Here is the Tree where Truth doth grow
To lead our lives therein.

2

"Here is the Judge that stints the strife
When men's devices fail ;
Here is the Bread that feeds the life
That death cannot assail.

3

"The Tidings of Salvation dear
Come to our ears from hence ;
The Fortress of our Faith is here,
And Shield of our defence.

4

"Then be not like the hog that hath
A pearl at his desire,
And takes more pleasure at the trough,
And wallowing in the mire.

5

" Read not this Book in any case
But with a single eye ;
Read not, but first desire God's grace
To understand thereby.

6

" Pray still in faith with this respect
To fructify therein,
That knowledge may bring this effect
To mortify thy sin.

7

" Then happy thou in all thy life
What so to thee befalls ;
Yea, doubly happy shalt thou be
When God by death thee calls."

PART THE SECOND

THE OXFORD REFORMERS: EXTRACTS FROM THEIR WRITINGS

CHAPTER I

TESTIMONY CONCERNING THE FAITH

"Let the Papists go with their long faith; be you content with the *short faith* of the Saints, which is revealed unto us in the Word of God written. Adieu to all Popish fantasies. Amen" (Latimer to Ridley in prison at Oxford).

"The Law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul" (Ps. cxix.).

"This having learn'd, thou hast attained the sum
Of Wisdom. . . . Only add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add faith,
Add virtue, patience, temperance, add love,
By name to come call'd charity, the soul
Of all the rest."

MILTON.

To bring out distinctly the peculiar features of the Church of England and show the Protestant system of Divinity, we cannot do better than take a question raised by the venerable Latimer in one of his sermons: "How shall I know that I am in the Book of Life?" For if this question be settled, all minor points will fall into their proper places.

"How shall I know that I am in the Book of Life?" I answer: There are three special notes whereby you may know the same.

"The first note is, if you know your sin and feel your own wretchedness, which is a great matter; for the most part

of people are so drowned in sin that they no more feel the same . . . but when you know your sins and feel the same, then are they heavy with you, and grieve you.

"The second point is, faith in Christ—that is, when you believe most steadfastly and undoubtedly that God our Heavenly Father, through His Son, will deliver you from your sins—when you believe, I say, that the blood of our Saviour is shed for you for the cleansing and putting away of your sins, and believing this most steadfastly with an unfeigned heart, then you have the second point.

"The third point is, when you have an earnest desire to amendment and hatred against your sin, study to live after God's will and commandments as much as is possible for you to do, then you have the third point.

"And when these three points be in you—namely, first, when you know your sin and be sorry for the same; and afterwards believe to be saved through the Passion of Jesus Christ; and, thirdly, have an earnest desire to leave sin and to fly the same—then you may be sure that your names are written in the Book, and you may be sure that you are elect and predestinate to everlasting life" ("Latimer's Sermons," January 24, 1552).

Such is Latimer's "Short Faith of the Saints," which, under the three heads of Repentance, Faith, and Obedience, comprehends the essentials of Christianity, or, in other words, includes Regeneration, Justification, and Sanctification.

The necessity of these is acknowledged alike by Romanists and Protestants; they differ only in the way by which they are to be obtained. Let us briefly compare them, and in so doing aim to exhibit—

"In essentials, Unity;
In non-essentials, Liberty;
In all things, Charity."

REGENERATION.

"The transformation of Apostate man
From fool to wise, from earthly to divine,
Is work for Him who made him, Him alone."
COWPER.

The Roman Way of Regeneration.—Romanists hold and teach that Regeneration, or the New Birth of the Soul, is conferred invariably by the Sacrament of Baptism; that the act of Baptism implants the principle of spiritual life, remits sin, and is a saving ordinance; and that any parish priest can and does work this great change every time he baptizes.*

The Church of England Way of Regeneration.—The Church of England teaches that Regeneration, or the New Birth of the Soul, is the work of a far higher Power than that of a man and his official acts; that it is secret, may take place at any time in a person's life, from childhood to old age; that the ordinary means is the Gospel or Word of God heard or read; and that the Sacrament of Baptism is a sign and seal of our Regeneration, not Regeneration itself. Our Church requires evidence of Regeneration having taken place in every adult previous to Baptism, and as the express qualification for Baptism.

"Regeneration is all in all,
Washing or sprinkling but the Sign."
GEO. HERBERT.

Let us now hear what some of our Reformers say on the subject:

Latimer on Regeneration.—"Beware, beware ye diminish not this office of preaching, for if ye do ye decay God's power to all that do believe. Christ saith, 'Except a man

* This in the following pages is termed "Baptismal Regeneration," and implies a change brought about solely by the outward ceremony and act of the priest, not, as it is sometimes used, to express a change of outward position and privilege, and so distinct from conversion.

be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' He must have a regeneration; and what is this Regeneration? It is not to be christened in water, as these firebrands expound it, and nothing else. How is it to be expounded, then? St. Peter sheweth that one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance and collation of places that makes the Scripture plain. 'Regeneramur autem,' saith St. Peter, 'and we be born again.' How? 'Non ex semine mortali sed immortalis'—'Not by a mortal seed, but by an immortal.' What is this 'immortal seed'? 'Per sermonem Dei viventis'—'By the Word of the living God,' by the Word of God preached. Thus cometh in our New Birth; here you may see how necessary this office is to our salvation. This [preaching] is the thing that the Devil wrestleth most against; it hath been all his study to decay this office. He worketh against it as much as he can; he hath prevailed too much in it."

What Master Latimer, being Bishop, taught the people:

"Remember your promise in Baptism,
Christ His mercy and bloodshedding,
By whose most holy sprinkling
Of all your sins you have free pardoning."

Archbishop Cranmer against Baptismal Regeneration.—"The first entry unto God, good Christian people, is through faith" ("Church Homily," by Cranmer).

On the Sacraments.—"It is no marvel that Nicodemus and the Capernites understand not Christ before they be born anew, and have learned another lesson of the Spirit of God than flesh and blood can teach them; . . . they cannot understand what is Spiritual Nativity, spiritual circumcision, spiritual hunger and thirst, and spiritual eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of our Saviour Christ; but they hang all together so in the letter that they cannot enter into the kingdom of the Spirit.

"By this word 'Sacrament' I mean the whole administration and receiving of the Sacraments, either of Baptism

or of the Lord's Supper; and so the old writers many times do say that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the Sacraments, not meaning by that manner of speech that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present *in* the Water, Bread, or Wine, which be only the outward visible Sacraments, but that in the due administration of the Sacraments, according to Christ's ordinance and institution, Christ and His Holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue and grace, in all them that worthily receive the same. And as concerning the holiness of the Bread, and whereunto I may add the water of Baptism, how is it possible that a spiritless creature should receive any spiritual sanctification and holiness?"

From Cranmer's disputation with Gardiner: "In Baptism those that come feignedly and those that come unfeignedly both be washed with the sacramental water, but both be not washed with the Holy Ghost."

From a treatise of *Bishop Ridley*, lamenting the state of England in Queen Mary's days: "Now shall come in the flattering Friars and the false Pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. . . . As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells, and such-like light things, what need I to speak? for every priest that can but read hath power, they say, not only to do that, but also hath power over Christ's body as to make both God and man, once at least every day, of a wafer cake. . . . These things it irketh me to think upon, when I consider on the other side the eternal Word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes—I mean that milk that is without guile, as St. Peter doth call it—that word of truth which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls—that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and ever-living

God, whereby the man is born anew and made the child of God."

William Tyndale, "The Apostle of England in these latter days," from "Obedience of a Christian Man": "Ask the people what they understand by their baptism or washing, and thou shalt see that they believe how that the very plunging into the water saveth them; of the promises they know not, nor what is signified thereby.

"Baptism is called Volowing in many places in England, because the priest saith, 'Volo, say ye' (i.e., Say, I will), and they say the child was 'well volowed'—yea, and 'Our Vicar is as fair a volower as any priest within this twenty miles.' Behold how narrowly the people look on the ceremony, if aught be left out, or if the child be not altogether dipt in the water, or if, because the child is sick, the priest dare not plunge him into the water, but pour water on his head, how tremble they! how quake they! 'How say ye, Sir John, is this child christened enough? Hath it his full christendom?' They believe verily the child is not christened; they think the work maketh safe. Now, is this False Doctrine verily; for St. James saith, 'Of His good will begat He us with the Word of life'—that is, the word of promise, in which we be made God's sons and heirs of the goodness of God before any good works. For we cannot work God's will till we be His sons, and know His will, and have His Spirit to teach us. And St. Paul saith, Christ cleanseth the congregation in the fountain of water through the Word; and St. Peter saith, 'Ye are born anew, not of mortal seed, but of immortal, by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.'"

Again, from the "Prologue to the Book of Leviticus":

"Our Sacraments, if they be truly administered, preach Christ unto us, and lead our faiths unto Christ, by which faith our sins are done away, and not by the deed or work of the Sacrament. For as it was impossible that the blood of calves should put away sin, even so is it *impossible* that the *water of the river* should wash our hearts. Nevertheless,

the Sacraments cleanse us and absolve us of our sins, as the priests do in preaching of repentance and faith, for which cause both of them were ordained ; but if they preach not, whether it be the priest or the Sacrament, so they profit not. And if a man allege Christ, saying, ' Except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot see the kingdom of God,' and will therefore say that the Holy Ghost be present in the water, and therefore the very deed or work doth put away sin, then I will send him unto Paul, which asketh his Galatians whether they received the Holy Ghost by the deed of the law or by preaching of faith, and there concludeth that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth the heart and purgeth it ; which thou mayest understand also by St. Paul saying, ' Ye are born anew out of the water through the Word.' So now, if baptism preach me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and that preaching through faith doth put away our sins.

" As circumcision was unto the Jews a common badge signifying that they were all soldiers of God to war His war, and separating them from all other nations, even so is baptism our common badge, and sure earnest and perpetual memorial that we pertain unto Christ.

" The saving of Noah and of them that were with him in the ship through water is a figure of Baptism, as Peter maketh it—the ship saved them in the water through faith, in that they believed God ; and as the others that would not believe Noah perished, even so baptism saveth us through the word of faith which it preacheth, when all the world of the unbelieving perish. ' Not naked or dumb ceremonies, but the Holy Ghost through faith washeth away sins.' "

Tyndale : Baptism justifieth us not.—" Works which God commandeth, and unto which He annexeth His promise that He will reward them, are, as it were, very Sacraments, visible signs and witnesses . . . but they justify us not, no more than the visible works of the Sacraments do—as,

for example, the work of Baptism, that outward washing, which is the outward Sacrament or sign, justifieth us not. But God only justifieth us actively as cause efficient or workman. God promiseth to justify whosoever is baptized to believe in Christ and to keep the law of God—that is to say, to forgive them of their sins and to impute righteousness unto them, to take them for His sons, and to love them as well as though they were full righteous. Christ hath deserved us that promise and that righteousness, and faith doth receive it, and God doth give it and impute it to faith, and not to the washing. And the washing doth testify it, and certify us of it, as the Pope's letters do certify the believers of the Pope's pardon. Now, the letters help not nor hinder, but the pardons were as good without them as with them, save only to establish weak souls," etc.

Bishop Hooper on the Romish View of Baptismal Regeneration.—"This ungodly opinion that attributeth the salvation of man unto the receiving of an external Sacrament doth derogate the mercy of God, as though His Holy Spirit could not be carried by faith into the penitent and sorrowful conscience except it rid always in a chariot and external Sacrament. . . . None is admitted unto the Sacraments but such as be God's friends first by faith. 'Abraham believed.' The infant believeth; Cornelius believed. And as one (our father Abraham) came unto the Sacrament as the friend of God, so cometh all the world that follow his faith and confirmeth God's promise with an external Sign. What is there more to be said? As the promise of God is received by faith, so must the Sacraments be also. And where faith is not, no Sacrament availeth. Read the eighth chapter of Acts, and confer Simon Magus with the Queen of Candace's servant, and mark what difference is betwixt him that looketh to find Christ in an external Sacrament and him that cometh with penitence and assurance that God is his through Christ."

Hooper on Baptism.—"I believe that Baptism is the Sign of the new league and friendship between God and us

made by Jesus Christ, and it is the mark of the Christians now in the time of the Gospel, as in time past circumcision was a mark unto the Jews, which were under the law. Yea, baptism is an outward washing done with water, thereby signifying an inward washing of the Holy Ghost wrought through the blood of Christ; the which baptism ought as well to be given and communicated to little children as to those that be great once for all.

“Although Baptism be a Sacrament to be received and honourably used of all men, yet it sanctifieth no man, and such as attribute remission of sin unto the external sign do offend. John preacheth repentance in the desert and remission of sin in Christ; such as confessed their faults he marked, and declared them to be of Christ’s Church. So that external baptism was but an inauguration or consecration of those that first believed and were cleansed of their sins, as he declareth himself in the same place—‘I christened with water,’ as though he said, ‘My baptism maketh no man better inwardly; it changeth no man, but I call and preach to the outward ear; I exhort unto repentance, and such as say they do repent and would change their old sinful life I wash with water. He that inwardly cleanseth is stronger than I; His grace it is only that purifieth the soul. I baptize to repentance’—that is to say, to a new life.”

Again: “It is necessary, therefore, to bring Christ to the Sacraments by faith, and not to look for life there. And thus the promise of grace is received by faith, as are also the Sacraments, of which faith they are the testimonies and seals. There are many other ends, but this is the chief, and those who thus use the Sacraments do not make them bare signs. Thus, John the Baptist said that he baptized with water, but that there was One to come after him Who should baptize with the Holy Ghost. He had water in his hand, by which remission of sins was confirmed to those who believed, but he had not in his hand the Holy Ghost, that he might give remission of sins to all that were baptized, for he baptized many hypocrites. From these sensible

objects, therefore, faith teaches us to recognize things insensible and invisible" (from Bishop Hooper's letter to Bucer, 1548).

Again: "It is ill done to condemn the Infants of the Christians that die without baptism, of whose salvation by the Scriptures we be assured. 'I will be a God unto thee and to thy seed after thee.' I would likewise judge well of the infants of the Infidels, etc. These temerous judgments of men hath brought into the Church of Christ a wrong opinion of God, to say that He can nor doth save none but such as be openly received into the Church by baptism, whereas this Sacrament and all other be but the confirmation of Christ's promises, which be in the person that receiveth the Sacraments before, or else these external signs avail nothing."

"This new life cometh not until such time as Christ be known and received. Now, to put on Christ is to live a new life. Such as be baptized must remember that repentance and faith preceded this external sign, and in Christ the purgation was inwardly obtained before the external sign was given. So that there are two kinds of baptism, and both necessary—the one interior, which is the cleansing, the drawing of the Father, the operation of the Holy Ghost, and this baptism is in man when he believeth and trusteth that Christ is the only Author of his salvation. Thus be the infants examined concerning repentance and faith before they be baptized with water, at the contemplation of which faith God purgeth the soul. Then is the exterior sign added, not to purge the heart, but to confirm, manifest, and open unto the world that his child is God's.

"And likewise baptism is a very Sacrament and sign that the baptized creature should die from sin all his life, as Paul writeth (Rom. vi.). Likewise, no man should condemn nor neglect this exterior sign for the commandment's sake, though it have no power to purge from sin, yet it confirmeth the purgation of sin; and the act of itself pleaseth God, because the receivers thereof obey the will of His commandment.

“Like as the King’s Majesty that now is immediately after the death of his father was the true and legitimate King of England, and received his coronation not to make himself thereby King, but to manifest that the kingdom appertained unto him before, and to confirm his right and title. Had all England said nay, and with an exterior pomp and ceremony crowned any other, he should have been an adulterous and wrong king. Though this ceremony confirm and manifest a king in his kingdom, it maketh not a king, etc. So is it in the Church of Christ; man is made the brother of Christ and heir of eternal life by God’s only mercy received by faith, before he received any ceremony to confirm and manifest openly his right and title. Thus, assured of God and cleansed from sin in Christ, he hath the livery of God given unto him—baptism, the which no Christian should neglect, and yet not attribute his sanctification unto the external sign. As the King’s Majesty may not attribute his right unto the crown, but unto God and his father—for where this right precedeth not the coronation, the ceremony availeth nothing—so an hypocrite and an infidel may receive the external sign of baptism, and yet be no true Christian, as Simon Magus and other.

“Sacraments must be used holily, and yet not to have the office of Christ added unto them. Solely it is His office to sanctify and purge from sin. I take nothing from the Sacraments, but honour them and extol them in all things as they be worthy, howbeit not too much. I call a Sacrament a ceremony instituted in the law of God to this end: that it should be a testimony of God’s promise unto all that believe, and a sign of God’s good-will towards us. St. Paul saith that Abraham received a testimony, by the which God testified that he was received into grace (Rom. iv.); and as the promise of God, the remission of sin, is received by faith, so must these Sacraments, that be signs, tokens, and testimonies of the promise, be received by faith.”

Bishop Jewell, “On the Sacraments.”—“Now I think good to speak of the Sacraments of the Church, that all may

know what they are, because you are all partakers of the Holy Sacraments. Christ hath ordained them, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm the faith which we have in His blood, and might seal His grace in our hearts. As princes' seals confirm and warrant their deeds and charters, so do the Sacraments witness into our conscience that God's promises are true and shall continue for ever. Thus doth God make known His secret purpose to His Church. First He declareth His mercy by His Word; then He sealeth and assureth by His Sacraments. In the Word we have His promises; in the Sacraments we see them. It would require a long time if I should utter all that might be said in this matter, especially in laying open such errors and abuses as have crept into the Church. A Sacrament is an outward and visible sign whereby God sealeth up His grace in our hearts, to the confirmation of our faith.

“ ‘ Christ,’ saith the Apostle, ‘ loved the Church and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify it and cleanse it by the washing of the new birth and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.’ For this cause is Baptism called salvation, life, regeneration, the forgiveness of sins, the power of God to resurrection, the image and pledge of resurrection, and the seed of immortality. And yet are not these things wrought by the water, for then what need had we of Christ? What good did His Passion? What doth the Holy Ghost work in our hearts? What power or force is left to the Word of God? Augustine saith: ‘ Why doth Christ not say, Now ye are clean because of the Baptism wherewith ye are washed, saving that because in the water it is the Word that maketh clean? Take away the Word, and what is water more than water?’

“ It is the covenant and promise and mercy of God which clotheth us with immortality, assureth our resurrection, by which we receive Regeneration, forgiveness of our sins, life and salvation. His Word declareth His love towards us; and that Word is sealed and made good by

Baptism. Our faith and our continuance in the profession which we have made establisheth us in this grace, which we receive. As it is said, 'True Baptism standeth not so much in washing of the body as in the faith of the heart,' as the doctrine of the Apostles hath taught us, saying, 'By faith purifying their hearts,' and in another place, 'Baptism saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.' Therefore Hierome saith, 'They that receive not Baptism with perfect faith receive the water, but the Holy Ghost they receive not.' The water wherein we are baptized doth not cleanse the soul, but 'the blood of Christ Jesus His Son doth cleanse us from all sin.' Not the water, but the blood of Christ, reconcileth us unto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. We must seek salvation in Christ alone, and not in any outward thing.

"It is not the minister, but Christ Himself, which is 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.' St. Augustine, speaking of Sacraments, saith, 'This is a miserable bondage of the soul, to take the signs instead of the things that be signified.'"

Jewell, commenting on the phrase "*opus operatum*," remarks :

"St. Augustine saith there were some in his time that thought, and taught the people that if a man had been baptized, and had once received the Communion, notwithstanding he lived wickedly and maintained heresies, yet he could not be condemned only because he was baptized and had once received the Communion ; which thing now is called '*opus operatum*.' Chrysostom saith : 'Women and young children, for great safety, hang the Gospel at their necks.' They thought the Gospel itself and of itself could save them from all mishaps, not because they believed in it, but only because it was hanged or tied about them ; and this is also '*opus operatum*.'"

"The grace is in the minds or souls of the receivers, not in the visible signs or Sacraments."

Thomas Becon, Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, and Divinity Lecturer at Oxford in the Reign of Edward VI.—From his "New Catechism, Dialogue wise between Father and Son."

To the Reader the Book speaketh :

" Though I be small in quantity—
Yet despise me not, good reader,
For perchance thou shalt find in me
That wanteth in many greater," etc.

" FATHER. What is it to be baptized of the Holy Ghost ?

" SON. To be regenerate, to be born anew, to be made of earthly heavenly, of carnal spiritual, of the bond slaves of the devil the sons of God.

" FATHER. Is this baptism of the Spirit necessary unto everlasting salvation ?

" SON. So necessary that without it the baptism of water profiteth nothing. As in the Old Testament the Circumcision of the Jews profited them nothing without the circumcision of the Spirit, so likewise in the New Testament the baptism of water availeth nothing without the baptism of the Spirit (Rom. ii. 28 ; 1 Pet. iii. 21). What did it profit Simon Magus to be baptized with water ? ' They that are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.'

" FATHER. How provest thou that the doctrine which generally condemneth all that die without baptism is injurious to the grace of God ?

" SON. The Holy Scripture in every place attributeth our salvation to the free grace of God, and not to our own works or to any outward sign or sacrament. St. Paul saith, ' There is no difference, for all have sinned, but are justified freely by His grace through faith,' etc. ; and, ' If our salvation be of grace, then is it not of works,' for ' By grace are ye saved through faith ' (Eph. ii.), and ' Not by deeds of righteousness which we wrought, but according to His mercy He saved us,' etc. If this be so, then is it not injurious to the grace and kindness of the Lord our God so to embrace it that without the help of an external sign and outward ceremony it cannot save us ? Hath God so

bound and made Himself thrall to a sacrament that without it His power of saving is lame, and of no force to defend from damnation? As God, by His grace for His merciful promise' sake, 'I will be thy God and the God of thy seed,' saved the infants of the Hebrews although they departed before the eighth day, and so were uncircumcised, so in like manner God, by His grace, for His merciful promise' sake, saveth the young children of the Christians, though by the providence of God they be taken away from this life before they be baptized.

"St. Paul calleth circumcision a 'seal of righteousness,' and declares that Abraham was justified and accepted for righteous before God through faith before he was circumcised, and he received the sign of circumcision as a seal of the righteousness of faith which he had before. Therefore, as Baptism is to Christians the same in effect that circumcision was to the Jews, it followeth that not the outward washing in water saveth us, but the free grace of God. For if the Baptism of water saveth us *either in part or in whole*, our salvation resteth not only in the free grace of God, neither is God a perfect Saviour.

"FATHER. I have heard say that the Sacraments of the New Testament are not only signs and tokens, testimonies and seals of God's grace, but they also give grace to such as receive them.

"SON. *This your hearsay hath sounded no truth in your ears.* For this doctrine is contrary to the Word of God, brought lately into the Church by the Papists, and is greatly injurious to the grace of God, to the blood of Christ, and to the dignity of faith. If our Sacraments, which of themselves are nothing else than, as St. Paul terms them, 'seals of righteousness,' were of such virtue that they could give grace—that is, the favour of God—remission of sins, justification, the Holy Spirit, everlasting life, etc., by the work wrought ('opus operatum'), as they say, or by any power that remaineth in the outward signs, so should it follow that our justification depends, not only of the free grace of God, but of works, which is most false. 'If it be of grace'

(as St. Paul witnesseth), 'then is it not of works,' for 'by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves it is the gift of God.'

"If Sacraments of themselves, by any power that is in them, could give grace, then Simon Magus and Judas the traitor have been endued with the grace and Spirit of God, which is most false.

"The grace and Spirit of God cometh where and when it pleaseth God, and that they be not bound to any external ordinance the history of Cornelius the centurion doth declare. For Cornelius and his household received the Holy Ghost before they were baptized in water, insomuch that Peter said, 'May any man forbid that these should be baptized with water, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?' Here we may see that the Spirit of God lighteth where He will, neither is bound by anything. Hereof also may we learn that the Sacraments are given to be an outward witness unto all the congregation of the grace which is given before privately to every man, so that through Baptism the congregation of God receiveth the infant into the Church of Christ, which was received before of God through the grace of His promise.

"FATHER. But what is to be said to this sentence of Christ: 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God'?

"SON. The like manner of speaking we read in the Gospel of St. John, and they also are the words of Christ. 'Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you.' Some of the ancient fathers, understanding these words literally, thought that whosoever died without receiving the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ were in great danger of damnation, and therefore they ordained that the young infants also, as soon as they were baptized, should receive the Sacrament, lest that they, departing without it, should fall from the favour of God and so perish, when, to say the truth, these words of Christ are not to be understood literally, but spiritually; not of the sacramental, but of

the spiritual eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood, which is done by *faith*.

"And as these fathers grated too hard upon this sentence of Christ, 'Except ye eat the flesh,' etc., so likewise did those fathers cleave too much to these words of Christ, 'Except a man be born of water,' etc., when they taught that children dying without the baptism of water perish and are not saved. For as many of the people of God are saved which never received the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, so likewise are many saved which never received the outward baptism of water; for the regeneration of a Christian consisteth rather in the spirit than in the letter."

From a Catechism by Alex. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, sanctioned by Convocation, 1570.

"MASTER. Do we not, then, obtain forgiveness of sins by the outward washing of water ?

"SCHOLAR. No. For only Christ hath with His blood clean washed away the spots of our souls (Matt. xxvi. 28 ; Eph. i. 7 and v. 26 ; Col. i. 14, 20 ; Titus iii. 5, 6 ; Rev. i. 5). This honour it is not lawful to give to the outward element. But the Holy Ghost, as it were, sprinkling our consciences with that holy blood, wiping away all the spots of sin, maketh us clean before God (John iii. 5 ; Rom. viii. 15, 16 ; Heb. ix. 14 and x. 22). Of this cleansing we have a Seal and a Pledge in the Sacrament.

"MASTER. But whence have we regeneration ?

"SCHOLAR. None other way but from the death and resurrection of Christ (Rom. vi.).

"MASTER. Do all generally and without difference receive this grace ?

"SCHOLAR. The faithful only receive this fruit (Mark xvi. 16 ; John i. 12 and iii. 16, 18), but the unbelieving, in refusing the promises offered them by God, shut up the entry against themselves, and go away empty. Yet do they not thereby make that the Sacraments lose their force and nature.

“MASTER. Tell me, then, briefly, in what things the use of Baptism consisteth.

“SCHOLAR. In faith and repentance.”

From Simon Fyshe's Book, "The Sum of the Scriptures."

NOTE.—Sir Thomas More and the Bishops collected out of this book forty-one heresies, as they called them, the first three being: (1) The water of the font hath no more virtue in it than hath any other water. (2) The water of Baptism lieth not in hallowed water or in other outward thing, but only in faith. (3) That godfathers and godmothers be bound to help their children; that they be put to school, that they may understand the Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul.

The following is the passage from which they gathered these heresies:

“The water of Baptism taketh not away our sin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to wash ourselves therein. Neither hath the water of the Font more virtue of itself than the water that runneth in the river of Rhene. When Philip baptized the Eunuch, the servant of Candace, the Queen of Ethiopia, there was then no hallowed water, nor candle, nor salt, nor cream, neither white habit; but he baptized him in the first water he came to upon the way. Here mayest thou perceive that the virtue of Baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in the outward things that we have at the Font, but in the faith only, etc. Christ hath healed us, saith St. Paul, by ‘the bath of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost.’ The Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to help the children, that they be put to school, to the intent that they may understand the Gospel, the joyful message of God, with the Epistles of St. Paul. God hath commanded to publish and to show the Gospel, *not only to the priests*, but to every creature. ‘Go ye,’ saith Christ unto His disciples,

‘into the universal world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.’ For we be all equally bound to know the Gospel and the doctrine of the New Testament, etc. And St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, confesseth that he sendeth his Epistles to all the Church—that is to say, to all the assembly of Christian men and to all them that call on the name of Jesus Christ.” (He was pleading for an open Bible.)

From Walter Bute of Oxford, one of Wycliffe’s pupils :

“ In my judgment it seemeth that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are Faith and Hope. For by faith in Jesus Christ and hope in Him for the remission of sins we enter the kingdom of heaven. This faith is a spiritual water springing from Jesus Christ, the fountain of wisdom wherein the soul of the sinner is washed from sin. With this water were the faithful Patriarchs baptized before the law, and the faithful people of the Hebrews, and the faithful Christians after the law. Wherefore I greatly marvel at that saying in the Decrees which is ascribed to Augustine, that little children that are not baptized should be tormented with eternal fire, although they were born of faithful parents, that wished them with all their hearts to have been baptized ; as though the sacrament of baptism in water were simply necessary to salvation, when nevertheless many Christians are saved without this Baptism, as Martyrs. If that kind of Baptism be not necessary to one of elder years, how, then, is it necessary to an infant, born of the faithful ? Are not all baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire ? but yet not with material fire ; no more is the lotion of water corporally necessary to wash away sins, but only spiritual water—that is to say, the water of faith. Christ saith, ‘ He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.’ He saith not, He that is not baptized, but ‘ He that believeth not shall be damned.’ Wherefore He saith, ‘ I am the Resurrection and the Life ; he that believeth in Me, yea, though he were dead shall live.’ ”

John Wycliffe, Oxon. :

"They which do affirm that the Infants of the faithful departing without the Sacrament of Baptism are not to be saved are presumptuous fools in so affirming."

From the extracts given above it is plain that the Reformers utterly rejected the old Popish notion of Baptismal Regeneration; they could do no otherwise, for the next great truth we shall illustrate by their writings—"Justification by Faith only"—is altogether opposed to that sacramental theory of Regeneration and remission of sins by the ordinance of Baptism.

The insidious way in which the Romish doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is introduced into the English Church may be illustrated by the way it is suggested by Mr. Gladstone in his "Church Principles," p. 161: "Baptism is a rite involving in its complete idea the exercise of a spiritual power whose office it specifically is to impart a principle of spiritual life," and, on the next page, "that new life which we have in our Church, or body of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, and which was first given us at our Baptism." The first statement mixes up the outer and inner parts of Baptism by the help of the "complete idea"; the next assumes that these two parts are given simultaneously, which is contrary to Scripture, to our formularies, and to our experience, and opens the door to much superstition.

Any man, no matter whether Churchman or Baptist, who over-exalts the ordinance of Baptism, and makes it anything more than what Circumcision was to the Jewish Church—admission into the outward and visible Church—puts a great stumbling-block in the way of real spiritual religion; he is doing a very similar act to that for which St. Paul so blamed the Galatians, by placing an ordinance in the room of faith. "This only would I learn of you: received ye the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith? Are ye so foolish?"

This Baptismal Regeneration is the beginning of a wrong course, for you will find the same mistakes all through the Sacramental System. First, you are directed to the fact of your having been baptized, or, as we may say, to the parish register, kept in the parish chest, for your evidence of Regeneration. That is wrong ; a Christian's title-deeds are not kept in that box. Next, they tell you that after the prayer of consecration the Divine Presence is in the bread and wine. That is wrong too ; it is not there at all. Then, for confession and absolution, they send you to a parish priest. Again they are wrong. All this proceeds from a wrong beginning ; they err as to the nature of the commencement of the Christian life. Recollect for a moment what Regeneration is. It is the turning-point in one's life ; it is a change of will, principles, and pursuits ; it turns the lion into a lamb ; it alters the character, and so fits the soul for, and accompanies it to, heaven. The Christian life is a journey ; the traveller must start aright, or he will never reach the desired end. Wrong directions at starting must cost him at least much loss of time and pains in retracing his steps ; therefore be sure you start aright, for " there is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death."

Such a momentous personal event as Regeneration, with its sure result Salvation, should lead us carefully to examine whether we are in the faith or not, whether we are trusting in a real or counterfeit change. It is a serious question : Am I regenerate, and how may I know it ? There is but one way : everyone must be his own examining master here, for it is too important a matter to be entrusted to another. We must take Bishop Hooper's advice with respect to this very subject : " Weigh the Scripture diligently, Christian reader, and search for the truth there." Remember Latimer's words : " When you know your sins and are sorry for them, you have the First Part." Now we proceed to the second.

JUSTIFICATION.

"Oh, how unlike the complex works of man,
 Heaven's easy, artless, unencumbered plan !
 No meretricious graces to beguile,
 No clustering ornaments to clog the pile ;
 From ostentation, as from weakness, free,
 It stands like the cerulean arch we see,
 Majestic in its own simplicity.
 Inscribed above the portal, from afar
 Conspicuous as the brightness of a star,
 Legible only by the light they give,
 Stand the soul-quickenings words—*believe, and live.*"

COWPER.

Romanists hold that the justification of a sinner is effected in a variety of ways : First, that Baptism remits sin ; then confession to, and absolution by, a parish priest puts away sins ; that the Sacrifice of the Mass, also a man's own good deeds, will atone for sins ; and, lastly, that the fire of purgatory is prepared to purify from the remainder of sins after death.

Protestants hold that there is only one way of justification, as defined by the Church of England. "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ *by Faith*, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by *Faith only* is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification" (Article XI.).

Briefly, the Romanist ways are Sacraments, good deeds, and purgatory ; the Protestant way, "Faith only."

Justification by Faith only forms no part of the creed of the Church of Rome, and, strange to say, yet significantly, it forms no part of Mr. Gladstone's "Church Principles"; and the reason is obvious : their Sacramental Systems cannot exist with it ; they are utterly inconsistent.

Look at history. This doctrine of Justification by Faith only and the imputed righteousness of the Saviour has always by Popery been accounted a great heresy, and punished with *death*, both on the Continent and in England.

At Florence, on May 23, 1499, Savonarola and his two companion friars were publicly hanged, burnt, and their ashes cast into a river. The chief and first crime alleged against them was "holding our free justification through faith in Christ." And so it was in England all through the Reformation, as we have seen before.

But to understand the importance of this we must go back to earlier times, to use the words of an eminent old author :

"It is remarkable that upon the opening of the Gospel no evangelical doctrine was more disrelished by the Jews than Justification by imputed righteousness," for, "being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, they submitted not themselves to the righteousness of God" (Rom. x.). They held this principle, that life was to be obtained by their works, because the express condition of the Law was so, and, mistaking the end of the institution by Moses, they set the Law against the promises; for since the fall the Law was given, not to be absolutely a covenant of life, but with a design to prepare men for the Gospel, that upon the sight of their guilt they might have recourse to the Redeemer, and by faith embrace that satisfaction he hath made for them: "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." From the example of the Jews we may see how men are naturally affected. And it is worthy of note that the reformation of religion took its rise by the same controversy with the Papists as that by which the Gospel was first introduced into the world.

When darkness covered the face of the earth the zeal of the Reformers broke forth, who, to undeceive the world, clearly demonstrated from the Scriptures that Justification is obtained alone by a lively and purifying faith in the blood of Christ—a strong proof that the same Gospel which was preached by the first Apostles was revived by these excellent men.

It was the doctrine of "Justification by Faith alone" which turned the world upside down in the days of St.

Peter and St. Paul, and when revived by "those excellent men" the Reformers, it again turned the Church and world upside down.

Luther saw the importance of this doctrine; he used it as a lever to overturn Popery, and thus recorded his opinion of it: "It is the mark of a standing Church," and "the neglect of this truth is the sign of a falling Church."

Well might Father Latimer make it the central point in his "Short Faith of the Saints," which we are now considering, for so did every one of the Reformers in their writings, as the extracts we proceed to give will show.

From Latimer's sermon on Twelfth Day :

" 'Being justified by Faith, we have Peace with God.' All the Papists think themselves to be saved by the law, and I myself have been of that dangerous, perilous, and damnable opinion till I was thirty years of age. So long I had walked in darkness and in the shadow of death. And no doubt he that departeth out of this world in this opinion, he shall never come to heaven. For when we well consider the works which the law requireth, and, again, how we do them, we shall find that we may not be justified by our doings; for the flesh reigneth in us, it beareth rule and hindereth the spirit, and so we never fulfil the law. Certain it is that they that believe in Christ have the Holy Ghost, which ruleth and governeth them; yet for all that there be a great many lacks in them, so that if they would go about to be saved by their works, they should come too short, for their works are not able to answer the requests of the law. And so Christ should be but a Judge which should give to everyone according to his merits, and not deserve for us. If we had no other help but that, then we should all go to the devil. But—God the Everlasting be praised!—we have a remedy and a sure Helper. Christ the Son of the living God hath fulfilled the law for us, to deliver us from sin. Such is the office of Christ—to deliver us from the law and the wrath

of it. The law requireth a perfect righteousness and holiness. Now, all they that believe in Christ, they are holy and just through faith in Christ. What requireth the law of us? Marry, righteousness and holiness. This we have; we are righteous. But how? Not by our works, for our works are not able to make us just and deliver us from our sins. But we are just by this: that our sins are pardoned unto us through the faith which we have in Christ our Saviour; for He, through His fulfilling of the law, took away the curse of the law from our heads.

“What greater consolation, comfort, and heart’s-ease can there be in heaven and earth than that—namely, to be sure of the remission of thy sins, and that Christ bound Himself unto the law to the end that He might fulfil it to the uttermost? This, I say, is the greatest comfort, especially when the devil goeth in hand with us, and casteth our sins in our teeth, as no doubt he forgetteth not, but hath them at his fingers’ end; when he will go to work with us, saying, ‘Sir, thou art damned; thou art a sinful, wicked man; thou hast not kept God’s most holy Commandments. God must needs judge thee according unto His law.’ Now, then, when I have the grace to have in remembrance the circumcision of Christ; when I remember that Christ hath fulfilled the law for me, that He will stand between me and my damnation; when I look not to be saved by my works, but only by Christ; when I stick unto Him; when I believe that my soul is washed and made clean through His blood—then I have all His goodness, for God hath given Him unto me.”

From the sermon of Latimer, Third Sunday after Epiphany, 1552:

“‘Lord, if Thou wilt Thou canst help me.’ This leper took Christ to be a Saviour, and therefore he cometh to Him for help; so let us come to Him, for He is the Saviour of mankind, and He is the only helper that succoureth both our bodies and our souls. He saveth our souls by His Word, if when we hear the same we believe it. Note here, also, the behaviour of this leazar-man, for by his example

the best Doctor in Divinity need not be ashamed to learn, for in him appeareth a marvellous strong faith and confidence that he had in Christ ; for he doubted not but that Christ was able to help him, neither mistrusted he His goodness and mercy. But what brought he with him ? Even his faith. He believed that Christ was able to help him, and therefore according to his faith it happened unto him. Then, it shall be necessary for thee to bring faith with thee, for without faith thou canst get nothing at His hands. Bring, therefore, I say, faith with thee. Believe that He is able to help thee, and that He is merciful and will help thee. And when thou comest furnished with such a faith, surely thou shalt be heard ; thou shalt find Him a loving Father and a faithful Friend, and a Redeemer of thee out of all thy tribulation. For faith is like a hand wherewith we receive the benefits of God, and except we take His benefits with the hand of faith, we shall never have them.

From a sermon on the Lord's Prayer :

“ ‘ Our Father.’ In such wise let us strive and fight against the temptations of the devil, which would not have us to call upon God because we are sinners. Catch thou hold of our Saviour ; believe in Him ; be assured in thy heart that He, with His sufferings, took away all thy sins. Consider, again, that our Saviour calleth us to prayer, and commandeth us to pray. Our sins let us and withdraw us from prayer, but our Saviour maketh them nothing. When we believe in Him, it is like as if we had no sins. For He changeth with us ; He taketh our sins and wickedness from us, and giveth unto us His holiness, righteousness, justice, fulfilling of the law, and so consequently everlasting life, so that we be like as if we had done no sin at all ; for His righteousness standeth us in so good a stead as though we of our own selves had fulfilled the law to the uttermost. Therefore our sins cannot let us nor withdraw us from prayer, for they be gone ; they are no sins ; they cannot be hurtful to us. Christ dying for us, as all the Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, witnesseth,

—‘He hath taken away our sorrows.’ Like as when I owe unto a man a hundred pounds—the day is expired ; he will have his money ; I have it not, and for lack of it I am laid in prison. In such distress cometh a good friend, and saith : ‘ Sir, be of good cheer ; I will pay thy debts.’ Such a friend is our Saviour. He hath paid our debts and set us at liberty.”

Cranmer, from the Homily of “ The True, Lively and Christian Faith ” :

“ The first coming unto God, good Christian people, is through faith, whereby we be justified before God. And lest any man should be deceived for lack of right understanding thereof, it is diligently to be noted that faith is taken in the Scripture two manner of ways. There is one faith which in Scripture is called a dead faith, which bringeth forth no good works, but is idle, barren, and unfruitful. And this faith by the holy Apostle St. James is compared to the faith of devils, which believe God to be true and just, and tremble for fear, yet they do nothing well, but all evil. And such a manner of faith have the wicked and naughty Christian people which confess God, as St. Paul saith, in their mouth, but deny Him in their deeds, being abominable and without the right faith, etc. And this faith is a persuasion or belief in man’s heart whereby he knoweth that there is a God, and agreeth unto all truth of God’s most holy Word contained in the holy Scripture. So that it consisteth only in believing in the Word of God that it is true, and this is not properly called faith. But as he that readeth Cæsar’s Commentaries, believing the same to be true, hath thereby a knowledge of Cæsar’s life and notable acts, because he believeth the history of Cæsar, yet it is not properly said that he believeth in Cæsar, of whom he looketh for no help nor benefit ; even so he that believeth that all that is spoken of God in the Bible is true, and yet liveth so ungodly that he cannot look to enjoy the promises and benefits of God, although it may be said that such a man hath a faith and belief to the words of God, yet it is

not properly said that he believeth in God, or hath such a faith and trust in God whereby he may surely look for grace, mercy, and everlasting life at God's hands, but rather indignation and punishment according to the merits of his wicked life. Forasmuch as faith without works is dead, it is not now faith, as 'a dead man is not a man.' This dead faith is not the sure and substantial faith that saveth sinners.

"Another Faith there is in Scripture, which is not, as this foresaid faith, idle, unfruitful, and dead, but worketh by charity, as St. Paul declareth (Gal. v.), which, as the other is called dead, so this is called a quick or lively faith. And this is not only a common belief in the Articles of our faith, but it is also a true trust and confidence of the mercy of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and a steadfast hope of all good things to be received at God's hand; and that although we, through infirmity or temptation of our ghostly enemy, do fall from Him by sin, yet if we return again unto Him by true repentance, that He will forgive and forget our offences for His Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and will make us inheritors with Him of His everlasting kingdom, and that in the meantime, until that kingdom come, He will be our Protector and Defender in all perils and dangers, and that though sometime He doth send us sharp adversity, yet that evermore He will be a loving Father unto us, correcting us for our sins, but not withdrawing His mercy finally from us, if we trust in Him, and commit ourselves wholly unto Him, hang only upon Him, and call upon Him, ready to obey and serve Him. This is the true, lively, and unfeigned faith, and is not in the mouth and profession only, but it liveth and stirreth inwardly in the heart. And this faith is not without the love of God and of our neighbours, nor without the fear of God, nor without the desire to hear God's Word and to follow the same in eschewing evil, and doing gladly all good works," etc.

Cranmer, from the "Homily of Salvation," Second Part :

"Ye have heard how this righteousness cometh unto men by Christ's death and merits through a true and lively

faith out of which springeth good works, as St. Paul writeth to the Ephesians. 'By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should glory.'

"And to this end tendeth all the prophets, as St. Peter saith in the tenth of Acts, 'of Christ all the prophets do witness that through His Name all they that believe in Him shall receive remission of sins.'

"And after this wise to be justified speaketh all the old and ancient authors, both Greeks and Latins, of whom I will specially rehearse St. Hilary, Basil, and Ambrose.

"St. Hilary saith, in the ninth canon upon St. Matthew, 'Faith only justifieth,' and St. Basil, a Greek author, writeth thus: 'This is a perfect and whole rejoicing in God, when a man advanceth not himself for his righteousness, but acknowledgeth himself to lack true justice and righteousness, and to be justified by the only faith in Christ; and Paul, saith he, doth glory in the contempt of his own righteousness, and that he looketh for his righteousness of God, by faith. These be the very words of St. Basil. And St. Ambrose, a Latin author, saith: 'This is the ordinance of God, that he which believeth in Christ should be saved without works, by faith only, freely receiving remission of his sins.'

"What can be spoken more plainly? Consider diligently those words 'without works,' 'by faith only,' 'freely receiving remission of our sins.' These and other like sentences we do read in the best authors, as in Origen, Chrysostom, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, Prosper, Œcumenius, Photus, Bernardus, Anselm, and many others."

Wycliffe, at Oxford:

To those that said that their own merits contributed in part to justification, Wycliffe replied with this short prayer: "Heal us gratis, O Lord."

He said: "Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ is sufficient for salvation, and without faith it is impossible to please God. Trust wholly to Christ, rely altogether upon His

sufferings, and seek not to be justified in any other way than by His justice (or righteousness)."

"Unbelievers, though they might perform good works, apparently good in their matter, still were not to be accounted righteous men, that all who followed Christ became righteous through the participation of His righteousness, and would be saved." "Human nature is wholly at enmity with God. All men are originally sinners; we cannot think a good thought until Jesus sends it; we cannot perform a good work unless it be properly His good work: His mercy prevents us, so that we receive grace. Heal us, good Lord; we have no merit! Give us grace to know that all Thy gifts be of Thy goodness only. The merit of Christ is of itself sufficient to redeem every man from hell. It is to be understood of a sufficiency of Itself without any concurring cause. All that follow Christ shall be saved as His offspring, being justified by His righteousness."

Thomas Bradwardine, of Oxford, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1349:

"The great point to be maintained is that God gives His grace *freely* in the strictest sense of the word, and without merit on the part of man. For if God did not bestow His grace in this perfectly gratuitous manner, but on account of some subordinate, contingent, uncertain cause, He could not possibly foresee how He should bestow His free gifts. The word 'grace' evidently implies that there is no antecedent merit. And in this way the Apostle to the Romans appears to argue when he says: 'And if by grace, then it is no more of works, otherwise grace is no more grace. Now, to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt.' All this is perfectly intelligible, even in the conduct of liberal and magnificent human characters. They frequently bestow their gifts from a pure spirit of liberality, without the smallest previous claim on the score of merit. And shall not God, whose perfections are infinite, do more than this? St. Paul says

that God commended His love to us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us; and that when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son. St. Paul was, in a peculiar manner, a child of grace. With gratitude, therefore, he honours and extols its efficiency in all his Epistles; and particularly in his Epistle to the Romans throughout he defends his doctrine with great precision and copiousness: 'Every mouth,' says he, 'must be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God'; 'by the deeds of the law no flesh can be justified'; men must 'be justified freely by His grace'; 'by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God'; 'not of works, lest any man should boast.'"

Walter Brute, Graduate of Oxford, follower of Wycliffe, "a layman and learned" (Foxe); from his declaration of his faith when accused:

"Touching the matter of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, I firmly believe whatsoever the Lord taught his disciples and faithful people, for He is, I know, the true bread of God which descended from heaven and giveth life unto the world; of which bread whosoever eateth shall live for ever. . . . But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise might be sure by the faith of Jesus Christ to all believers. Whereby it is manifest that by the faith which we have in Christ, believing Him to be the true Son of God which came down from heaven to redeem us from sin, we are justified from sin, and so do live by Him which is the true bread and meat of our souls," etc.

William Tyndale, translator of the first New Testament printed in English:

NOTE.—In the year 1530 a Royal Proclamation was issued for punishing "even by death by fire," authors, importers or retainers of Tyndale's version of the Scriptures, his treatises of "Justification by Faith," "Obe-

dience," etc., and any other heretical books. Archbishop Warham and Bishops Tunstall and Gardiner, aided by Sir Thomas More, had been at work since 1527, and the fruit of their labours was a list of 200 "great errors and pestilent heresies," the larger part of which they charged upon Tyndale and his bosom friend Fryth; but the one great heresy picked out by the Romanists to stand at the head of them all was "Faith only Justifieth." To this Foxe adds the remark: "This Article is plain enough by St. Paul, and the whole body of Scripture; neither can any make this a heresy but they must make St. Paul a heretic, and show themselves enemies to the promises of grace and to the cross of Christ."

From Tyndale's "Obedience of a Christian Man":

"How Faith justifieth before God in the heart, and how love springeth of faith and compelleth us to work, and how the works justify before the world and testify what we are, and certify us that our faith is unfeigned, and that the right Spirit of God is in us, see in my book of the 'Justifying of Faith' [he means the Parable of the Wicked Mammon]; also of the controversy between Paul and James see there. Nevertheless, when the Bishop of Rochester [Fisher] saith if faith only justifieth, then also the devils and sinners in hell be justified and saved, his argument is not worth a straw. For neither the devils nor yet sinners that continue in sin of purpose have any such faith as Paul speaketh of. For Paul's faith is to believe God's promises. 'Faith,' saith he, 'cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God; and how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach without they be sent?' etc. Now, when sent God any messengers unto the devils to preach them peace or any good things? The devil hath no promise; he is therefore excluded from Paul's faith. The devil believeth that Christ died, but not that He died for his sins. Neither doth any that consenteth in his heart to continue in sin believe that Christ died for him. For to believe that Christ died for us is to see our horrible damnation, and

how we were appointed unto eternal pains, and to feel and to be sure that we are delivered therefrom through Christ, in that we have power to hate our sins and to love God's commandments. All such repent, and have their souls loosed out of captivity and bondage of sin, and are therefore justified through faith in Christ. Wicked sinners have no faith, but imaginations and opinions about Christ, as our Schoolmen have in their principles about which they brawl so fast one with another. It is one thing to believe that the king is rich, and another that he is rich unto me, and that my part is therein, and that he will not spare a penny of his riches at my need. When I believe that the king is rich, I am not moved; but when I believe that he is rich for me, and that he will never fail me at my need, then love I, and of love am I ready to work to the uttermost of my power."

From Tyndale's "Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans":

"The sum and whole cause of the writing of this Epistle is to prove that a man is justified by faith only, which proposition whoso denieth, to him not only this Epistle and all Paul writeth, but also the whole Scripture, is so locked up that he shall never understand it to his soul's health. And to bring a man to the understanding and feeling that faith only justifieth, Paul proves that the whole nature of man is so poisoned and corrupt—yea, and so dead concerning godly living or godly thinking—that it is impossible for him to keep the law in the sight of God—that is to say, to love it, and of love and willingness to do it as naturally as a man eats and drinks, until he be quickened again and healed through faith. And by justifying, understand no other thing than to be reconciled to God, and to be restored unto His favour, and to have thy sins forgiven thee. And when I say that 'faith justifieth,' understand thereby that faith and trust in the truth of God and in the mercy promised us for Christ's sake, and for His deserving and works only, doth quiet the conscience and certify her that our sins be forgiven and we in the favour of God."

Again :

"Faith in Christ first certifieth the conscience of the forgiveness of sins, and delivereth us from the fear of everlasting damnation, and then bringeth the love of God and of His law into the heart, which love is the righteousness of the heart. Love bringeth good works into the members, which works are the outward righteousness. This is, then, the sum of all together : works are the outward righteousness before the world, and may be called the righteousness of the members, and spring of inward love. Love is the righteousness of the heart, and springeth of Faith ; Faith is the trust in Christ's blood, and is the gift of God. And when I say 'Faith justifieth,' the understanding is that faith receiveth the justifying. God promiseth to forgive us our sins and to impute us for full righteous, and God justifieth actively—that is to say, forgiveth us and reckoneth us full righteous. And Christ's blood deserveth it, and faith in the promise receiveth it, and certifieth the conscience thereof."

Tyndale, "Justification not by Ceremonies, but by Faith Only" :

"He that goeth about to quiet his conscience and to justify himself by the law doth but heal his wounds with fretting corrosives. And he that goeth about to purchase grace with ceremonies doth but suck the ale post to quench his thirst, inasmuch as the ceremonies were not given to justify the heart, but to signify the justifying and forgiveness that is in Christ's blood. Of ceremonies, that they justify not, thou readest in Heb. x. : 'It is impossible that sin should be done away with the blood of oxen and goats'; and of the law thou readest (Gal. v.) : 'If there had been a law given that could have quickened, then had righteousness or justifying come by the law indeed.' The New Testament is those everlasting promises which are made us in Christ the Lord throughout all the Scriptures. And that Testament is built on Faith, and not on Works ; for it is not said of that Testament, 'He that worketh shall live,' but 'He that believeth shall live,' as thou readest

(John iii.): 'God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that none that believe in Him should perish, but have life everlasting.' And when this Testament is preached and believed, the Spirit entereth the heart and quickeneth it, and giveth her life and justifieth her. The Spirit also maketh the law a lively thing in the heart, so that a man bringeth forth good works of his own accord, without compulsion of law, without fear of threatenings and cursings, but of the very power of the Spirit received through faith, as thou readest (John i.): 'He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on His Name.' "

John Fryth of Oxford, martyr :

" 'All we be saved by the same faith as the old Fathers were.' Augustine saith that the same faith that saved our Fathers saveth us also. The ancient Fathers before Christ's Incarnation did never believe any such point of this gross and carnal eating of Christ's body; and yet, notwithstanding, they did eat Him spiritually and were saved, as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Phineas, and other godly Israelites besides, all which did eat the body of Christ and did drink His blood, as we do. But this eating and drinking was spiritual, pertaining only to Faith, and not to the teeth. 'For they were all under the cloud, and drank of the Rock which followed them; this Rock was Christ,' which was promised them to come into the world. And this promise was first made unto Adam when, as it was said unto the serpent, 'I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between her seed and thy seed'; and afterwards again unto Abraham: 'In thy seed shall all people be blessed'; adding also the Sacrament of circumcision, which was called the covenant, not because it was so indeed, but because it was a Sign and a Token of the covenant made between God and Abraham, admonishing us thereby how we should judge and think touching the Sacrament of His body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made unto Moses, the most meek and gentle

Captain of the Israelites, so that both manna and this water from the rock had a prophetical mystery in them, declaring the very selfsame thing then which the bread and the wine do now declare unto us in the Sacrament. St. Augustine inferreth thus Moses did eat manna, and many others also; they did all eat the same spiritual meat and all drink of the same spiritual drink—all one spiritual thing, but not all one corporal matter; for they did eat manna and we another thing, but the selfsame spiritual thing that we do. And Bede also saith: 'Behold the signs are altered, and yet the faith remaineth one.' Therefore a man may perceive that the manna which came down from heaven was the same unto them as our Sacrament is to us. But some may here object and say: 'If only faith, both unto them and also unto us, be sufficient unto salvation, what need there any Sacraments to be instituted?' There are three causes. The first St. Austin declareth in these words: 'Men cannot be kept together into one name of religion, be it true or be it false, except they be kept by the society of signs and visible Sacraments,' etc. Another cause is that they should be helpers to graft and plant in our hearts faith, and for the confirmation of God's promises. But this use of the Sacraments many are yet ignorant of, and more there be which do preposterously judge of the same, taking the signs for the thing itself, and worshipping the same. And, thirdly, Sacraments do serve unto this use: to stir up the minds and hearts of the faithful to give thanks unto God for His benefits."

Bishop Hooper of Oxford, from his treatise, "Christ and His Office" (1547):

"St. Paul saith that we be justified by faith (Rom. iii.). He meaneth that we have a remission of sin, reconciliation, and acceptance into the favour of God. So doth this word 'Justify' signify (Deut. xxv.) where God commandeth the judge to justify, quit, and absolve the innocent, and to condemn and punish the person culpable.

Paul saith : ' We are justified by faith, and not by works.' To be justified by faith in Christ is as much as to say we obtain remission of sins and are accepted into the favour of God by the merits of Christ.

" There is no cause wherefore this mercy should be given saving only the death of Christ, which is the only sufficient price and gage for sin. And although it be necessary and requisite that in the justification of a sinner contrition be present, and that necessarily charity and a virtuous life must follow, yet doth the Scripture attribute the only remission of sin unto the mercy of God, which is given only for the merits of Christ and received solely by faith. Paul doth not exclude these virtues to be present, but he excludeth the merits of those virtues, and deriveth the cause of our acceptation unto the grace of God only for Christ. . . ."

Bishop Ferrar of Oxford, martyr. Part of a certain *Declaration* sent out of prison by certain godly preachers, concerning the doctrine of their religion (May 8, 1554) :

" Fourthly, we believe and confess concerning Justification that, as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none which be of years of discretion otherwise than by faith only. Which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, through whom, as the mind is illumined, so the heart is suppld to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly, and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness ; which is to be discerned in the article of justification from the righteousness which God endueth us withal in justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And this we do, not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience' sake, that it might be quiet, which it never can be if we confound, without distinction, forgiveness of sins and Christ's justice imputed to us with regeneration and inherent righteousness.

" By this we disallow the Papistical doctrine of free-

will, of works, of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to Godwards.

"The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of His truth and grace of perseverance unto the end. Amen. The 8th of May, A.D. 1554.

"(Signed) ROBERT FERRAR, *Bishop of St. David's*.
(Burnt March 30, 1555.)

ROWLAND TAYLOR, D.D. (Burnt February 9, 1555.)

JOHN PHILPOT, *Archdeacon*. (Burnt December 18, 1555.)

JOHN BRADFORD. (Burnt July 1, 1555.)

JOHN HOOPER, *Bishop of Gloucester*. (Burnt February 9, 1555.)

EDWARD CROME.

JOHN ROGERS, *Proto-Martyr*. (Burnt February 4, 1555.)

LAWRENCE SAUNDERS. (Burnt February 8, 1555.)

EDMUND LAWRENCE.*

J. P.

T. M.

"To these things abovesaid do I, MILES COVERDALE, late of Exon, consent and agree with these my afflicted brethren, being prisoners, with mine own hand."

John Philpot of Oxon, Archdeacon and martyr. From his translation of "Curio":

"But I pray thee show me why thou dost so much detest to grant that we obtain the Divine justice through faith, and that all our sins be freely and for nought forgiven us for Christ's sake alone, if that we put our confidence upon Him? Doth not the Apostle St. Peter confess and preach this, where he saith that God by faith—that is, through the affiance of His mercy—purgeth the hearts and souls of men, etc.? Is not Paul wholly in this to teach us that, being justified by faith, we have peace with God?"

Thomas Becon, Chaplain to Cranmer, and Lecturer at Oxford. The sum of the author's doctrine :

"To teach the people to know themselves and their salvation in the blood of Christ through faith, and to walk worthy the kindness of God, leading a life agreeable to the same, hath only been the stop and mark whereunto I have directed all my studies and travails, both in preaching and writing. I have sought in all my doings to offend none, but to please the godly. And therefore have I ever used a temperate, moderate, and quiet kind, both of preaching and writing, that by this means I might win some and lose as few as I might."

From Becon's "David's Harp," published in the reign of Henry VIII. :

"Psalm cxv. : 'I believed, therefore have I spoken, but I was sore troubled.' This first verse containeth three strings of David's Harp. The first string is 'I believed.' Our first string—yea, and base string—is Faith, and that not without an urgent cause. For here see we that as the base part is the ground of the whole song, so is Faith the foundation of all Christian religion. . . . Now, as we were lost by Satan's deceitful promises, so the only way to be saved is to believe the sweet, comfortable, and infallible promises of God which He hath made to us so plenteously in the most precious blood of His dearly-beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. For this faith maketh us of the children of the devil the sons of God, as St. John testifieth : 'So many as received Him, to them He gave power to be made the sons of God, inasmuch as they believed on His name.' Also St. Paul : 'Ye are all the sons of God, because ye have believed in Christ Jesus,' and 'We, being justified by faith, have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.'"

John Foxe of Magdalen College, Oxford, historian and martyrologist :

"Wheresoever any question or doubt ariseth of salvation or our justifying before God, there the law and all good

works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that Faith may stand alone. Which faith alone without law or works worketh to every man particularly his salvation through mere promise and the free grace of God. Now, forasmuch as neither the law nor works, but faith only, is the thing that apprehendeth the body and death of Christ, therefore *faith only* is that matter which justifieth every soul before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For like as the brasen Serpent was the object only of the Israelites looking, and not their hands working, by which health proceeded to the beholders, so the body of Christ, being the object of our faith, striketh righteousness to our souls not through working, but believing only. Thus you see how Faith, being the only *eye* of the soul, standeth alone with her object in case of justifying, but yet, nevertheless, in the body she standeth not alone, for besides the *eye* there be hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members more, every one convenient for the service of the body, and yet there is none of them all that can see, but only the eye. So in a Christian man's life, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, there is repentance, there is hope, charity, and deeds of charity, all which in life and doctrine are joined, and necessarily do concur together; and yet in the action of justifying there is nothing else in man that hath any part or place, but only faith apprehending the object, which is the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our salvation."

Bishop Jewell, from his reply to Harding, the Romanist :

"Two other great quarrels Master Harding moveth, the one of 'only faith,' the other (as he calleth it) 'the presumptuous certainty of salvation.' Wherein judge thou uprightly, good Christian reader, how just cause he hath to reprove our doctrine.

"As for the first part hereof, St. Paul saith : 'We be justified freely of His grace,' and 'We judge that a man

is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Christ.' Mr. Harding will say : ' Yet hitherto of " sola fides "—that is, only faith—we hear nothing.' Notwithstanding, when St. Paul excludeth all manner of works besides only faith, what else then leaveth he but faith alone ? Howbeit, if it be so horrible a heresy to say we be justified before God by only faith—that is to say, only by the merits and cross of Christ—let us see what the holy learned Fathers of the Church so many hundred years ago have taught us thereof :

" St. Ambrose : ' They are justified freely because working nothing and requiting nothing ; they are justified by only faith, through the gift of God.' Again : ' This was God's determination—that the law surceasing, the grace of God should require only faith unto salvation.'

" St. Basil saith : ' He knoweth himself to be void of true righteousness, and to be justified by only faith in Christ.'

" Theodoretus saith : ' Not by any works of ours, but by only faith we have gotten the mystical good things.'

" Nazianzenus saith : ' Only believing is righteousness.'

" Origen saith : ' Where now is thy boasting of thy good works ? It is shut out, Paul saith, that the justification of only faith is sufficient, so that a man only believing may be justified, although he have done no good works at all.'

" Hesychius saith : ' The grace of God is given only of mercy and favour, and it is received and embraced by faith only.'

" I leave a great number of others that have written the like, as well Greeks as Latins. Instead of them all St. Chrysostom saith thus : ' They said whoso stayed himself by faith only is accursed ; contrariwise, St. Paul proveth (Gal. iii.) that " whoso stayeth himself by faith is blessed."'

" Touching the words of St. James, if Mr. Harding well considered the equivocation or double understanding of this word ' Justification,' he might soon and easily have espied his own error. For when St. Paul saith ' Abraham was justified by faith without works of the law,' he teacheth

us how Abraham was received into favour and justified before God. Of the other side, St. James, when he saith 'Abraham was justified by works, and not by faith only,' he speaketh of the works that follow justification, and of the fruits of faith. St. Augustine saith: 'The sayings of the two Apostles Paul and James are not contrary; whereas Paul saith a man is justified without works, and James saith "Faith without works is vain," for Paul speaketh of the works that go before faith, James speaketh of the works that follow after faith.'

"If Mr. Harding shall think St. Augustine's authority herein is not sufficient, Thomas of Aquine will avouch the same. His words be these: 'James in this place speaketh of such works as follow faith, which works are said to justify—not as justification is the procuring of righteousness, but in that it is an exercise, or a showing, or a perfecting of righteousness, for we say a thing is done when it is perfected or known to be done.'

"Now, concerning the Assurance or Certainty of salvation the Scriptures are full. St. Paul saith: 'There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. The Spirit of God beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God. I know that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor powers, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature else shall be able to remove me from that love that God beareth towards me in Christ Jesus our Lord.'

"But forasmuch as these words perhaps have not the sense of the Church of Rome, without which, in Mr. Harding's judgment, the Scripture of God is no Scripture, let us see the same and exposition of the holy Fathers." (Here Jewell gives many quotations.)

Dean Nowell, from His Catechism of 1570, sanctioned by Convocation.

"MASTER. What way [do we attain unto righteousness] ?

“SCHOLAR. We must flee to the mercy of God, whereby He freely embraceth us with love and good-will in Christ, without any our deserving or respect of works, both forgiving us our sins, and so giving us the righteousness of Christ by faith in Him, that for the same Christ’s righteousness He so accepteth us, as if it were our own.

“MASTER. How do we know it to be thus ?

“SCHOLAR. By the Gospel which containeth the promises of God by Christ.

“MASTER. Dost thou, then, say that by the merit of faith we are counted righteous before God ?

“SCHOLAR. *No* ; for that were to set faith in the place of Christ. But all the spring head of this justification is the mercy of God, which is conveyed to us by Christ, and is offered to us by the Gospel, and received of us by faith as with a hand.

“MASTER. Thou sayest, then, that faith is not the cause, but the instrument, of justification, for that it embraceth Christ, which is our justification, coupling us with so strait a bond to Him that it maketh us partakers of all His good things ?

“SCHOLAR. Yea, forsooth.

“MASTER. But can this justification be so severed from good works that he that hath it can want them ?

“SCHOLAR. *No* ; for by faith we receive Christ, such as He delivereth Himself unto us. But He doth not only set us at liberty from sins and death, and make us at one with God, but also with the Divine inspiration and virtue of the Holy Ghost doth regenerate and newly form us to the endeavour of innocency and holiness which we call newness of life.

“MASTER. Then this doctrine of faith does not withdraw men’s minds from godly works and duties ?

“SCHOLAR. Nothing less, for good works do stand upon faith as upon their root,” etc.

Thus do all the reformers describe the way of Justification to be by Faith only. Mark the word *only*, for all

turns on that. "Justification by Faith only" was the *sine qua non* of the Reformation, and it still is that of the Church of England. "Without this, nothing," or worse than nothing, is any system of "Church principles."

As for ourselves, we have lived to see strange things. We have seen some of the founders of the New Oxford School denounce this leading doctrine of the Reformers as "that hateful heresy of Luther," and then they themselves go very shortly over to the Romanists openly; and not only so, but Mr. Newman has since declared that he held Romanist doctrines for eight or nine years before leaving.

Still, the old proverb holds good—"Time proves all things." The old darkness revived in Sacramental Regeneration and Justification may for a short time serve to delude, but now, in our land of a free Bible and free inquiry, "Hear the Church"—that is, the clergy—will give place to the question, "What saith the Scriptures?" and they will unquestionably assert the same as our Church of England Articles—that Justification is by Faith only. Time has proved for 1,800 years that, although the only way of Justification by Faith may for a time be obscured, yet it is sure to be revived again; it lives in the Scriptures, and can only perish with the Scriptures.

"*Blessed* is the man to whom the Lord will not *impute* sin" (Rom. iv.).

Having made sure of the first and second points in Latimer's short creed—viz., Regeneration and Justification—there can be no doubt about the third point following closely in their company. Indeed, it is quite impossible for them to exist separately; wherever Regeneration and Justification are, there is Sanctification.

SANCTIFICATION.

" Holy and good we own the law,
And all its precepts right ;
The sinner's soul it fills with awe,
The saint's with pure delight.

" Jesus the holy law fulfilled,
To be our righteousness ;
And we to His obedience yield,
Who is our Life and Peace.

" His bright example shows the way,
His grace the power imparts ;
His love constrains us to obey,
His law is in our hearts."

The Roman Way of Sanctification.—Sacraments generally, but especially the Sacrament of Orders for the clergy. Next in importance to Orders are the Monastic Vows of single life, voluntary poverty, and implicit obedience ; joining a Brotherhood or Sisterhood ; changing the Christian name ; wearing a garb or dress of a peculiar cut and sombre colour ; hanging of little silver crosses about the person, and making the sign of the cross on the stomach, forehead, and various parts of the body ; fasting from flesh meat, and eating fish instead ; praying on a string of beads by counting a certain number of Hail Marys, Creeds, or Paternosters ; Confession in a priest's ear of all your sins, and the circumstances of the same ; then to receive whatever penance he may impose, and perform it ; also absolution at his hand. Such things as these form the round of mechanical ceremonial observances which the Popish clergy impose on the laity to procure them " Sanctification."

The Protestant Way of Sanctification.—Protestants hold that Sanctification or holiness consists of an inward change of thoughts and temper, which shows itself outwardly in a Catholic spirit and upright Christian conduct between man and man ; that real Sanctification springs from faith in the Saviour and His promises, which faith is itself the

gift of the Holy Spirit; that no forms or ceremonies can of themselves impart holiness; neither bodily austerities or so-called good deeds are able to confer it. But Sanctification invariably follows Regeneration, producing good works, which good works our Church Articles say "are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, inasmuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit." Yet, "When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants" (Church Articles XII. and XIV.).

Thus we see that Sanctification is nothing more than Christianity in practice or real religion at work; and in this way not only the writings, but the lives, of the Reformers were full of practical divinity. Their writings, with which we have to do now, abound with directions for the attainment of personal sanctification, and for discriminating between real and the old pretended holiness of sacerdotal forms, ceremonies, and superstitions. They wrote under the consciousness that "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord," and remembrance of the words "Sanctify them through Thy Truth: Thy Word is Truth."

Latimer, from a sermon on "Yield to Cæsar that belongeth to Cæsar, and to God that belongeth to God":

"There be many that turn this text clean contrary, for they yield to Cæsar that which is God's, and to God that which is Cæsar's. They had money enough to build monasteries, chauntries, masses, year days, trentals, to gild images, etc. And all this they did, say they, to honour God with. They would worship God with copes, torches, tapers, candles, and a hundred things more that God never required at their hands. God requireth their hearts to fear Him and love Him, and obediently to walk before Him; but this inward service we will not give Him. Nay, we give Cæsar our heart and God our outward

service. God should possess our whole hearts, and we should most studiously walk, every man in his vocation, according to His commandments, obeying our King, and succouring the poor and needy as He hath commanded us. And this is God's true service, and the thing that belongeth to God. If this be true, what is become of our forefathers? I answer: It is a vain and unprofitable question; either it needs not, or it boots not. Whatsoever they did, let us do well. Let us keep God's bidding, God's commandments, and then we are safe. When one dieth, we must have bells ringing, singing, and much ado, but to what purpose? Those that die in the favour of God are well; those that die out of the favour of God, this can do them no good. 'Where the tree falleth, there it shall remain.' Study, therefore, to live in the favour and grace of God, in repentance, in amendment of life, and then thou diest well. Further, to the question of our forefathers, God knoweth His elect, and diligently watcheth and keepeth them, so that all things serve to their salvation. The nature of fire is to burn all that is laid in it; yet God kept the three young men in Babylon, that they burnt not. And Moses saw a bush on fire, but it burnt not. So false doctrine, as fire, burneth and corrupteth; but God kept His elect that they were not corrupt with it, but always put their trust in one ever-living God, through the death of Jesus Christ our Lord. In Elias' time idolatry and superstition reigned, so that Elias said: 'Lord, they have destroyed Thine altars and slain Thy prophets, and I am left alone.' But the Lord answered: 'I have reserved to Myself seven thousand men that have not bowed their knees to Baal.' So God reserved, I trust, our forefathers in so perilous times more graciously than we can think. Let us, then, thank God for the gracious light of His Word sent unto us, and pray for our gracious King and His council that set it forth unto us. And as for our forefathers, seeing we have no charge given us of God, let us leave them and commend them unto God's mercy, who disposeth better for them than we can wish."

Cranmer :

“ Now by God’s grace shall we declare the second thing that before was noted of faith—that without it can no good work be done acceptable and pleasing unto God. ‘ For as a branch cannot bring forth fruit of itself,’ saith our Saviour Christ, ‘ except it abide in the vine, so cannot you except you abide in Me,’ etc. ; and St. Paul proved that Enoch had faith because he pleased God, ‘ for without faith,’ saith he, ‘ it is impossible to please God.’ Faith giveth life to the soul, and they be as much dead to God that lack faith as they be to the world whose bodies lack souls. Without faith, all that is done of us is but dead before God, although the work seem never so gay and glorious before men. Even as a picture graven or painted is but a dead representation of the thing itself, and is without life or any manner of moving, so be the works of all unfaithful persons before God. They do appear to be lively works ; and, indeed, they be but dead, not availing to eternal life. They be but shadows and shows of lively and good things, and not good and lively things indeed ; for true faith doth give life to the works, and out of such faith come good works. As saith St. Augustine : ‘ We must set no good works before faith, nor think that before faith a man may do any good work ; for such works, although they seem unto men to be praiseworthy, yet indeed they be but vain, and not allowed before God. The intent maketh the good works, but faith must order and guide the intent of man.’ And Christ saith : ‘ If thine eye be naught, thy whole body is full of darkness.’ The eye doth signify the intent wherewith a man doth a thing, so that he which doth not his good works with a Godly intent and a true faith that worketh by love the whole body beside—that is to say, the whole number of his works—is dark, and there is no light in it. For good deeds be not measured by the facts themselves, and so dissevered from vices, but by the ends and intents for the which they be done. Faith it is that doth commend the work to God, for, as St. Augustine saith, ‘ Whether thou wilt or no, that work that cometh not of

faith is naught"; where the faith of Christ is not the foundation, there is no good work, whatsoever building we make. There is one good work in the which be all good works, that is, faith that worketh by charity; if thou hast it, thou hast the ground of all good works. And most plainly writeth St. John Chrysostom in this wise: 'You shall find men which have not the true faith, and be not of the flock of Christ, and yet (as it appeareth) they flourish in good works of mercy; you shall find them full of pity, compassion, and given to justice; and yet for all that they have no fruit of their works, because the chief work lacketh. For when the Jews asked Christ what they should do to work good works, He answered: 'This is the work of God, to believe on Him Whom He sent'; so that He called faith the work of God. And as soon as a man hath faith, anon he shall flourish in good works, for faith of itself is full of good works, and nothing is good without faith."

Tyndale :

"Holy workmen think that God rejoiceth in the deed itself, without any farther respect. They think also that God, as a cruel tyrant, rejoiceth and hath delight at our painstaking, without any farther respect. The Monks of the Charterhouse think that the very eating of fish itself pleaseth God. We also, when we offer our sons or daughters, and compel or persuade them to vow and profess chastity, think that pleaseth God. The people are thoroughly brought to believe that the deed in itself, without any farther respect, saveth them. If they be so long at Church, or say so many paternosters and read so much in a tongue they understand not, or go so much pilgrimage, and take so much pain, or fast such a superstitious fast, or observe such a superstitious observance, neither profitable to themselves nor to their neighbours, but done of a good intent, say they, to please God withal—yea, to kiss the Pax [a little cross used at Mass]—they think it a meritorious deed, when to love their neighbour and to forgive him they study not to do."

Tyndale on "Devotion," from "Obedience of a Christian Man":

"What reverence give we unto holy water, holy fire, holy bread, holy salt, hallowed bells, holy wax, holy boughs, holy candles, and holy ashes? And, last of all, unto the holy candle commit we our souls at our last departing. Yea, of the very clout which the Bishop or his Chaplain knitteth about children's necks at Confirmation, what lay person dare be so bold as to unloose the knot? Thou wilt say, 'Do not such things bring the Holy Ghost, and put away sin, and drive away spirits?' I say that a steadfast faith or belief in Christ and in the promises that God hath sworn to give us for His sake bringeth the Holy Ghost, as all the Scriptures make mention. Faith is the rock whereon Christ buildeth his congregation, against which, saith Christ, hell gates shall not prevail. As soon as thou believeth in Christ, the Holy Ghost cometh, sin falleth away, and devils fly. When we cast holy water at the devil, or ring the bells, he fleeth as men do from young children, and mocketh with us to bring us from the true faith that is in God's Word unto a superstitious and false belief of our own imagination. If thou hadst faith, and threw an unhallowed stone at his head, he would earnestly flee, and without mocking—yea, though thou throwest nothing at all he would not yet abide."

Tyndale on "Fasting," from his "Mammon":

"That thou mayest know what are good works, and the intent of good works, or wherefore good works serve, mark this that followeth:

The life of a Christian man is inward, between him and God, and properly is the consent of the spirit to the will of God and to the honour of God; and God's honour is the final end of all good works. Good works are all things that are done within the laws of God, in which God is honoured, and for which thanks are given to God. Fasting is to abstain from surfeiting or over much eating, from drunkenness, and care of the world, as thou mayest

read Luke xxi. ; and the end of fasting is to tame the body, that the spirit may have free course to God, and may quietly talk with God. For over much eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, press down the spirit, choke her, and tangle her, that she cannot lift up herself to God. Now, he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the spirit may wait on God and freely exercise herself in the things of God, the same is blind, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth, and shooteth at a wrong mark, and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God.* When thou fastest from meat, and drinkest all day, is that a Christian fast ? Or to eat at one meal that were sufficient for four ? A man at four times may bear that he cannot at once. Some fast from meat and drink, and yet so tangle themselves in worldly business that they cannot once think on God. Some abstain from butter, some from eggs, some from all manner of white meats, some this day, some in honour of this saint, some of that, etc."

Bishop Hooper, from his treatise, "Christ and His Offices," 1547 :

"The fourth office of Christ is to consecrate and sanctify those that believe in Him. He is not only holy Himself, but maketh holy others also, as saith St. John (chap. xvii.) : 'For their sake sanctify I Myself, that they also may be sanctified through the truth.' This sanctification is none other but a true knowledge of God in Christ by the Gospel that teacheth us how unclean we are by the sin of Adam, and how we are cleansed by Christ, for whose sake the Father of heaven doth not only remit the sins wrought willingly against the Word of God, but also the imperfection and natural concupiscence which remaineth in every man as long as the nature of man is mortal. How the Father doth sanctify His people, the prayer of Christ sheweth (John xvii.) : 'Sanctify them through Thy Truth.'

* The above clause formed one of the heresies Tewksbury was charged with, and for which he was condemned to the flames.

Purge their hearts, teach them, hallow them, make them apt for Thy kingdom. Wherewith ? With Thy Word, which is everlasting verity. The means to sanctify is the Word of God, the Holy Ghost, and faith that receiveth the word of our redemption. So doth Peter say (Acts xv.) : ‘ Our hearts are purged by faith.’ St. Paul (1 Cor. vi.) showeth for whose sake and how we are sanctified. ‘ You are washed, you are sanctified, you are justified by the Name of Jesus Christ and the Spirit of our God,’ for the merits of Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Ghost. This is always to be marked : that when Christ had prayed His Father to sanctify His Church by His Word and by His Holy Spirit, He added the price, and said, ‘ I sanctify Myself,’ as though He had said : ‘ For as much as I offer and submit Myself unto the bitter and cruel pain of the cross for the Church, Thou must, most Holy Father, sanctify them and accept them as sanctified, nourish them, love them, and defend them, for the price and satisfaction of My death.’ ”

“ What a consolation is this for every troubled conscience to understand ! Although it be unworthy of remission of sin for the greatness thereof, yet for the prayer of Christ he shall not be a castaway, so that he believe ; as Christ said, He prayed not only for His Apostles, but also for as many as should believe His Word till the world’s end. As many as will be Gospellers, as they love the Gospel and their own salvation, let them not dally and play with it, as though God were a babe, to be pleased, with a fig for sin ; let him think upon the most vile and tyrannous death of Him that only was able to cleanse us from sin, and from hence beware of sin. It sufficeth, as Paul saith, that ‘ before we knew the truth, to live wantonly.’ Again : ‘ As Christ in His own Person hath redeemed His Church, so doth He defend it.’ It was no little pain that Christ suffered in washing away the sins of this Church ; therefore He will not commit the defence thereof to man. It is no less glory to keep and defend the thing won by force than it is by force to obtain the victory. Adam, Abel,

Abraham, Moses, nor Aaron could not win this Church out of the devil's tyranny ; no more can they defend it delivered. For although, by imputation of Christ's righteousness, these and all other faithful men be delivered from the tyranny of the devil and condemnation of the law, yet hath the devil his very friends dwelling within the corrupt nature of man as long as he liveth, who cease not day nor night to betray man again to the devil, except with the motion of true repentance this concupiscence be kept under in fear and faith, which two virtues be so infirm in man that, be he never so perfect, yet falleth he from God sometime, as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron. Therefore He keepeth the defence and governance of the Church only and solely to Himself, in whom the devil hath not a jot of right. Though the Apostles were instructed in all truth, and left the same written unto His Church, yet were they ministers, servants, witnesses, and preachers of this verity, and not Christ's vicars in earth and lieutenants to keep the keys of heaven, hell, and purgatory, but only appointed to approve the thing to be good that God's law commanded, and that to be ill that the Word of God condemned. Seeing that Christ doth always govern His Church by His Holy Spirit, and bindeth all the ministers thereof to the sole Word of God, what abomination is this that any Bishop of Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, or elsewhere should acclaim to be Christ's Vicar, and take upon him to make laws in the Church to bind the consciences of men beside the Word of God, and in placing of their superstition and idolatry, put the Word of God out of his place ? By what law, by whom, or where hath any this title given unto him, to be God's Vicar and lieutenant upon the earth ?"

Becon, from his " Sick Man's Salve " :

" EPAPHRODITUS (*the sick man*). I have no merits, nor plenty of good works wherewith I may make God favourable to me ; but I am a barren fig-tree void of all good fruit.

" PHILEMON. The want of merits ought not to pluck you from coming to God ; for God saveth not us for the righteous

works that we have done, but for His mercies' sake. What had the stray sheep merited that the shepherd should so lovingly fetch her home again? What good works wrought Mary Magdalene when Christ received her unto grace, and forgave her sins? . . . St. Chrysostom saith, 'If we shall consider our merits, we are not only worthy of no reward, but we are also worthy of punishment.' 'Let all men's merits which perished by Adam be still and keep silence,' saith St. Austin, 'and let the grace of God reign which reigneth through our Lord Jesus Christ.' Therefore, let it not dismay you though you find in yourself plenty of sins, and good works very few. Cast rather the eyes of your mind with strong faith on Christ and His righteousness, on His merits, passion, and death, on His blessed body-breaking, and His precious blood-shedding. Believe Him to be ordained of God the Father to be your wisdom, righteousness, *sanctification*, and redemption, that, as it is written, 'He that rejoiceth should rejoice in the Lord.' "

John Woolton, of Magdalen College, Bishop of Exeter :

"The prophet Isaiah, inspired with Christ's Spirit, saith : 'Lord, Thou shalt give us peace, for Thou hast wrought all our works.' Now, although we hold that good works proceed from God as the fountain and origin, yet He doth not these things without us, but rather worketh by us and in us, so that the works of God done by us are also our own works. For God doth regenerate His elect and chosen servants with His Spirit, and giveth them faith. Then they, being so regenerate, like God's obedient children, do yield and apply themselves to please Him with a holy life and conversation. And the Holy Spirit which is in them is effectual, stirring up their power and will to all good works in all parts and course of their life. Faith also, whereby men's hearts are purified, is not idle and sluggish, but doth her part, and is a vigilant and diligent keeper of integrity of mind and virtuous conversation throughout all their life, and doth, as it were, put them in mind that they, being once purified in the blood of Christ, through

the Holy Ghost, should keep themselves unspotted in the world from all pollution of the flesh, never to abuse the gifts of the body, but to preserve the same as a vessel of honour. The regenerate therefore watch, and work righteousness, neither do they make a small account of sin, as wicked worldlings do ; for they right well and deeply consider that God, Who sent His Son into this world to be a propitiation for sin, and gave Him to death, even the death of the cross, doth both hate sin as a thing abominable, and also love justice and purity of life. And for that cause they also hate sin and love righteousness, detest impiety and embrace piety, and so study to practise the same all the days of their life."

Sanctification should be well studied in the light of Holy Scripture by every Christian, because so much of his comfort in this life depends on right views of it.

It is from want of right views here that so many poor deluded women are imposed upon by Romish priests, and persuaded to make those three unnatural vows belonging to Sisterhoods, all under the false pretence of Sanctification. Thus, a state of mental bondage is maintained which is pitiable to witness—altogether inconsistent with that freedom true religion gives and St. Paul bids us maintain : " Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage."

All that outward display, that show of sanctification encouraged by Romish priests, consisting of black, brown, and grey habits, crosses dangling about the person, etc., is a sure index to a dark and slavish, if not frivolous, state of mind, ignorant of the nature of true Sanctification because tied down to a mere round of mechanical ceremonies.

How different is the Christian life as described by St. Paul, a constant conflict with indwelling sin, a battle to be fought for which there are proper arms and armour provided ! " Take unto you the *whole armour* of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having

done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness ; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace ; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God : praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit."

There, Christian reader, you have a list of the whole of the armour you must wear, and the weapon you must fight with, "the sword of the Spirit" being the only offensive means you dare use in contending with "the rulers of the darkness of this world against spiritual wickedness in high places." Not a word does St. Paul say about the whole Sacramental System, with its Apostolical Succession, confession in a priest's ear, penances, or absolution by a priest ; not a word about holy vestments, holy habits, monkery, beads, crosses, water, or symbolical candles, processions, banners, etc. Neither does St. Paul anywhere say that we can earn or merit heaven by our works ; on the contrary, "Not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the Faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by Faith" (Phil. iii. 8).

Only beware of resting in outward Sanctification.

Archbishop Leighton says :

"We would willingly have all religion reduced to *externals*. This is our natural choice, and we would pay all in this coin, as cheaper and easier by far, and would compound for the *spiritual part*, and give *more external performance and ceremony*."

CHAPTER II

THE WRITINGS OF THE REFORMERS COMPRISE OUR ARTICLES,
PRAYER-BOOK, AND HOMILIES, ALL OF WHICH HAVE
IN THEM THE PROTESTANT SPIRIT OF THOSE ANCIENT
WORTHIES

"... Whose bright example unempeached
Directs thee to that eminence they reached,
Heroes and Worthies of days past, thy Sires."
COWPER.

HAVING in our last chapter spoken of the doctrinal divinity of the Reformation in a few of the prominent points, and placed them in contrast with Rome's Sacramental System, our duty now is to show that in our Prayer-Book is a thoroughly Protestant Spirit, and that the same spirit runs all through the Articles, Homilies, and Services. In considering our formularies, it is important to bear in mind the essential difference between the fixed standard of doctrine which has remained unchanged, and the Service-Books which have been frequently revised, changed, and laid aside. It is a mistake to exalt the Prayer-Book to a level with the Articles as an authority in matters of doctrine.

THE STANDARD OF DOCTRINE—THE ARTICLES OF
RELIGION.

It should not be forgotten that the Reformers had no human system of Divinity to work by or to copy, nothing but the simple Bible. The battle of the Reformation was more than half fought out before they thought of any system

beyond the Bible. From the Bible only did they get the great essentials embodied in our Articles.

As soon as Cranmer obtained power under King Edward, he saw the necessity of having a short declaration of doctrine collected from Scripture to form a rallying-point for Protestants, and especially as a protest against the decrees of the Council of Trent, then sitting and confirming the mediæval Sacramental System of Popery.

If the one great source of strength to the Church of England is that its Articles of Religion expressly build the Church on the "Bible only," so that whatsoever is not read therein "is not to be required of any man," so another source of strength is the Scriptural character of the doctrinal Articles themselves.

It is an occasion for laudable boasting to the English Churchman as he looks at the rich legacy he has inherited in the Articles of Religion, in substance just as they came from the martyrs' hands, whilst his Prayer-Book has been altered many times, and in more than one hundred places. The Articles remain a perfect monument of the great Catholic principles of the great Reformation, "written with a pen of iron and graven in the rock for ever." We cannot say so much, nor nearly so much, for our valuable Prayer-Book, which is a compilation from many sources, and was intended for a form of prayer and nothing more. Nothing was further from their thoughts or intentions than that it should be set up for a standard of doctrine; they knew that Service-Books were never made for that purpose, but were liable to frequent changes.

The Articles were framed at a remarkable time. Rome was then holding her Council of Trent, to whose labours in collecting and arranging her dogmas she has ever since appealed.

Cranmer saw the advisability of Protestants also holding a Council and defining their creed in a similar way; hence the following letter:

Archbishop Cranmer to the Rev. John Calvin.

"Much health.

"LAMBETH PALACE,

"March 20, 1552.

"As nothing tends more injuriously to the separation of the Churches than heresies and disputes respecting the doctrines of religion, so nothing tends more effectually to unite the Churches of God, and more powerfully to defend the fold of Christ, than the pure teaching of the Gospel and harmony of doctrine, wherefore I have often wished, and still continue to do so, that learned and godly men, who are eminent for erudition and judgment, might meet together in some place of safety, where, by taking counsel together and comparing their respective opinions, they might handle all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and hand down to posterity, under the weight of their authority, some work not only upon the subjects themselves, but upon the forms of expressing them. Our adversaries are now holding their councils at Trent for the establishment of their errors, and shall we neglect to call together a godly Synod for the refutation of error, and for restoring and propagating the truth? They are, as I am informed, making decrees respecting the worship of the host; wherefore we ought to leave no stone unturned, not only that we may guard others against this idolatry, but also that we may ourselves come to an agreement upon the doctrine of this Sacrament. It cannot escape your prudence how exceedingly the Church of God has been injured by dissensions and varieties of opinion respecting this sacrament of unity, and although they be in some measure removed, yet I could wish for an agreement in this doctrine, not only as regards the subject itself, but also with respect to the words and forms of expression.

"You have now my wish, about which I have also written to Masters Melancthon and Bucer, and I pray you to deliberate among yourselves as to the means by which this Synod can be assembled with the greatest convenience. Farewell.

"Your very dear brother in Christ,

"THOMAS CRANMER."

Archbishop Cranmer's Evangelical Synod never assembled ; it seems to have been frustrated by the intrigues of the Papists. Cranmer's evident design was to have united the foreign Protestant Churches with the Church of England by one common set of doctrinal Articles of Religion, and even more than that was contemplated, for Calvin and the other Continental leaders, finding that the English Reformers, who had inherited the divinity of Wycliffe and Tyndale, were exactly agreed with them in the essentials of religion, intimated the possibility of their adopting the *Episcopal form of Church government*. This, no doubt, would, humanly speaking, have strengthened the Protestant cause amazingly ; it certainly was the one thing the Romanists of Trent dreaded : hence their efforts in sowing the seeds of dissension among the different Churches which had separated from them.

However, the failure of a general Protestant Synod did not prevent the Articles of Religion for the Church of England being framed. Cranmer, no doubt, was the chief modeller of them, but he had plenty of assistance at hand. There was Ridley, and there was Latimer—the three a host in themselves ; but besides his countrymen's help, Cranmer had invited, and was entertaining in his Palace at Lambeth, several of the learned Presbyterian foreign divines ; two he had placed as King's Professors of Divinity in the two Universities, so that he was surrounded with learned and tried separatists from Rome.

In was in the course of 1551 that the Archbishop received an order from the King in Council to compile the Articles of Religion. In May, 1552, the draft was laid before the King in Council ; in September it was revised by the Archbishop ; it was then submitted to the King's tutor and Mr. Secretary Cecil. On October 2 the draft was handed over to the six royal chaplains, one of whom was John Knox, the celebrated Scotch Reformer. On November 20 it was returned to Cranmer, who again revised it, and the clergy were, by the King's mandate of June 9, 1553, called upon to subscribe.

Thus was the doctrine of the Church of England defined at about the same time as that of the Romish Church at the Council of Trent, and so the two Churches have remained for three hundred years quite separate, and must remain so as long as their respective Articles of Religion exist.

The title prefixed to this charter of the Church is significant, and defines its purpose : " Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562, for the avoiding of Diversities of Opinion, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion."

The Articles have now for three centuries exercised a marvellous influence over the whole of Protestant Great Britain, both within the Church of England and outside it, and have proved a bond of union in the most troublous times.

When disputes ran high about vestments and ceremonies no one ever thought of finding fault with the Articles, and even when Laud's innovations caused the abolition of the service-books, still there stood the Articles by general consent free from fault. The broadly Scriptural and Catholic nature of our doctrinal Articles is proved by the fact that all orthodox Protestant Churches own them, and to some extent adopt them for their standard.

Thus, the Independents, than whom there is no Church farther removed from us as regards ceremonies, fully adopt our Articles as a standard of doctrine.

The Independent Declaration of 1691, signed by upwards of eighty of their ministers, contains the following clause :

" As to matters of Faith, we esteem it sufficient that a Church acknowledges the Scriptures to be the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Westminster Catechism, or the Confession agreed on at the Savoy."

There we have a specimen of the comprehensive character of our standard of doctrine, and the same may be said of the Established Presbyterian and Free Church of Scotland ;

they admire our doctrinal Articles much as they dislike our service-books.

The declaration of Archbishop Grindal the second, who held the See after Cranmer, remains as true as ever :

" *All Reformed Churches do differ in rites and ceremonies, and we agree with all Reformed Churches in substance of Doctrine.*"

So long, therefore, as our Church honestly teaches according to her standard of doctrine without conniving at her ministers signing the Articles in the Jesuitical, " non-natural sense," advocated by the " Tracts for the Times," so long may she reckon on the respect and support of all conscientious Protestants, both within the pale of the Church and without it.

THE PRAYER-BOOK.

It is a strange thing that the Protestant character of the Prayer-Book could ever have been doubted, for no one acquainted with its history and contents could make that mistake. We may account for it in this way: There stands a Jesuit; he puts his finger on a few words left in our Baptismal Office, and exclaims, " You teach Baptismal Regeneration, as we do "; and then he points to the Visitation Office, and declares that we sanction priestly absolution and hear confession, as Rome does. At the elbow of the Jesuit is a Dissenter, who has never given himself the trouble to learn what the Prayer-Book is composed of, but he blindly chimes in with the Papist in asserting that there is " popery in the Prayer-Book." This is all a mistake, or something worse. We grant that one or two expressions may be wrested to point towards these Romish doctrines, but, on the other hand, there is scarcely one Sunday service in the year but all those three great errors are denied in express words or by implication. Little blemishes there are, no doubt; the book would be more than human if there were not.

The Protestant spirit of our Prayer-Book is indicated by

its very origin. The destruction of the old Latin service-books being decided for the purpose of rooting up Popery, something to take their place became absolutely necessary. It was a bold and decided line of policy to destroy all the beautifully illuminated missals, breviaries, legendaries, etc., costly works of art as they were of the purist medieval manufacture of monkery, that they might all give place to one simple uniform service-book in English for all the land.

What an astonishing change for the parish priests, who had been used to chant Matins in Latin to their wondering parishioners! Generally speaking, it was like priest, like people: neither knew a word of the service, but the chanting concealed all defects. The parish priest, like that one who could not tell Cranmer who was Solomon's father, and yet affirmed he could chant Matins as well as any man in England—that class must have, indeed, been in a rage when such proclamations as the following came out: "That all Churchwardens and Ministers shall see that Antiphoners, Mass-books, Grailes, Portesses, Processionals, Manuals, Legendaries, and all other books of late which served for the superstitious Latin service be utterly defaced, rent, and abolished." Simultaneously with the destruction of the old service-books occurred the abolition of stone altars, with their crosses and candlesticks, credence tables, piscinas, chancel screen, surpliced choir, and clerical processions, etc.

But did the Popish priest quietly submit to this change of religion? Not so; for we read of rebellions at the very beginning of the Reformation. The parish priests of Devonshire stirred up the people to resist Cranmer and his innovations.

Lord Russell was sent against them, offering to receive their complaints. The rebels drew up fifteen articles demanding the restoration of the Bloody Statute of Henry VIII., called the "Act of Six Articles," and all other of the lately abolished usages. To these fifteen demands Cranmer sent an answer well worth reading. Here is a specimen:

“ Your Eighth Article is this :

“ ‘ We will not receive the New Service, because it is like a Christmas game ; but we will have our old Service of Mattins, Mass, Evensong, and Procession in Latin as it was before, etc.’

“ Where you say you will have the old service because the new is like a Christmas game you declare yourselves what spirit you be led withal ; in the English service appointed to be read is nothing else but the eternal Word of God. The Old and New Testament is read that hath power to save your souls, etc. If it be to you but a Christmas game, it is then a savour of death ; for St. Paul saith plainly that the Word of God is foolishness only to them that perish. The old service pleaseth you better, which in many things is so foolish and so ungodly that it seemeth rather to be old wives’ tales and lies than to sound to any godliness. When the service was in the Latin tongue, which you understood not, they might read you truths or fables, godly or ungodly things, as they pleased, for you could not judge that you understood not. And that was the cause why St. Paul would have such languages spoken in the church as the people might understand, that they might learn and be edified thereby, and judge of that which was spoken, whether it were according to God’s Word or not. But forasmuch as you understood not the old Latin service, I shall rehearse you some things in English which were wont to be read in Latin, that, when you understand them, you may judge them whether they seem to be true tales or fables, and whether they or God’s Word seem to be more like plays and Christmas games.” (He then quoted a foolish legend of the way in which St. Martin expelled the devil from a certain man.) “ Is this a grave and godly matter to be read in the Church, or rather a foolish Christmas tale or old wives’ fable, worthy to be scorned of every man that hath either wit or godly judgment ? Yet more foolish, erroneous, and superstitious things be read in the Feasts of St. Blase, St. Valentine, St. Margaret, St. Peter, the Visitation of Our Lady, the Conception, the Trans-

figuration, Corpus Christi, etc., whereof some be most vain fables, some very superstitious, some directly against God's Word and the laws of this realm, and altogether be full of error and superstition" (Strype).

Cranmer abolished chanting and choral services from the National Church as being contrary to the Scriptural rule of "Let all things be done to edifying," but Queen Mary and her own Bishops, Bonner and Gardiner, restored them during her reign of bloodshed. Then, with the accession of Good Queen Bess, Cranmer's Prayer-Book comes into use again, but not to be chanted or intoned, or the prayers set to music and performed chorally. From our Church's second Book of Homilies it will appear how strictly the Reformers in Elizabeth's days enjoined reading of the Church services. The people were then just as fond of music as they are to-day, but the Reformers knew that the act of public worship was of too serious a nature to be trifled with. They met with opposition, as might have been expected. Many of the old Church-goers took offence at the abolition of the Romish musical service, and the Homily on Place and Time tells us that "a woman said to her neighbour: 'Alas, gossip! what shall we do now at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chaunting, and playing on the organs that we could before?' but" (continues the Homily), "dearly beloved, we ought to greatly rejoice and give God thanks that our Churches are delivered out of all those things which displeased God so sore, and defiled His holy house and place of prayer, etc."

The very origin of the Prayer-Book thus shows its Protestant spirit, and so do the materials composing it. As we open the book and read the sentences of Scripture, then the touching Exhortation, followed by the General Confession, so reverential and so congenial to the whole spirit that pervades the entire Liturgy, we ask: Whence did they get this first portion of Morning and Evening Prayer? It was no doubt suggested by Calvin's

Genevan Prayer-Book, as in other parts they were indebted to it, as well as to the work of Bucer and Melanchthon, commonly called Herman's "Consultation." But the greatest portion of new material for the Prayer-Book was English Scripture. During the Middle Ages not only had the knowledge of Scripture been withdrawn from the people by reciting it in an unknown tongue, but the lessons themselves had been shortened and cut up into short sentences by the insertion of chanted responds, etc., and frequently legends and other readings introduced. The Reformers in this way threw open a wide and hitherto unknown and forbidden storehouse of Divine truth.

A short time before it was death by fire to learn even the Creed in English; now the Prayer-Book granted a free and full disclosure of Bible truth. But even this was not all. They rescued from their Latin prison in which Popery had secured them all the very old Creeds, the *Te Deum*, and many collects and prayers which were centuries older than Popery; these they translated into English, and, finding them thoroughly Protestant in spirit, worked them up into our Liturgy, where they shine like "apples of gold in pictures of silver." Another mine of Protestant materials was the Reformers' own compositions; nearly thirty of the collects and other portions of the services we owe to their pens; so that if we look at the Prayer-Book as they left it, we have every reason to be satisfied with its purely Protestant materials.

Let us now glance briefly at some of the compilers of the Prayer-Book, to see of what spirit they were, especially of some not so well known. Of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the chief hands, we need not speak, but of their assistants, one Oxford man, Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, had no inconsiderable share, both in the original composition and in the revision under Queen Elizabeth.

The life of Richard Cox was one continued conflict with Popery. Selected by Cardinal Wolsey as one of the most talented young men at Cambridge, and placed on the foundation of the new Cardinal College at Oxford to help

to stem the tide of Lutheranism, as Protestantism was then called, Cox's troubles soon began. The arrival at Oxford of Tyndale's New Testament and other English books on Divinity threw Cardinal College into confusion, as before related. Cox and others who received it were cast into a cellar in the College, where the stores of salt fish were kept, and, lying there five months, four of them died. The survivors, who remained firm to their new principles, were favoured by Cranmer and his friends. After the suppression of Osney Abbey, and its conversion into a bishopric by Henry VIII., Cox was made the second and last Dean of Osney ; afterwards, when the See of Oxford was erected and the Cathedral Church removed to Christ Church, Cox became the first Dean. Here, while Dean, he showed his Protestant principles by introducing a wife to reside within the hitherto sacred precincts of St. Frideswide. On Edward's accession, Cox was placed on the Commission for framing a new Prayer-Book, the first draft of which, not giving satisfaction, was shortly amended, under the advice of Bucer and Peter Martyr, to which Cox refers some years afterwards.

Bishop Cox to Rodolph Gualter.

"ELY,

"February 12, 1571.

"There was formerly published, by command of King Edward, of pious memory, and with the advice and opinion of those excellent men, Master Bucer and Master Peter Martyr, then residing in England, a Book of Common Prayer and Sacraments, for the use of the Church of England. But now, as soon as our illustrious Queen Elizabeth had succeeded to the kingdom, she restored this *Holy Little Book* to the Church of England."

In this restoration of the Prayer-Book by Queen Elizabeth, after Mary's awful reign, Cox had a considerable hand, being appointed on the commission to revise it. He was made Bishop of Ely, and he diligently upheld its Scriptural character, both at home and abroad. Strype

tells us that "Cox laboured all he could against the papistical dresses, and also wrote to the Queen to complain of the Image of the Cross retained in her chapel."

Bishop Cox speaks of those "excellent men, Bucer and Peter Martyr." These two foreign divines had been placed by Cranmer, the one as Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, the other at Oxford, and both were staunch Protestants—yea, heretics, according to the authorities in Queen Mary's reign, for the clergy then took up poor Bucer's body from his grave at Cambridge and burnt it publicly; and, Peter Martyr being beyond the sea, they took up the body of his wife from Christ Church Cathedral and flung it on to the Dean's dunghill. Thus were two of the greatest men employed on our Prayer-Book honoured by that Church with which our new Oxford lights are so anxious to connect themselves. Our Reformers acknowledged with gratitude their valuable assistance, and we should not forget it. How they came to revise the whole of our Liturgy seems to be this: Dr. Cardwell, on the Prayer-Book, shows that the first service-book did not give satisfaction to many Protestants, and that "before the close of 1549 Calvin wrote to the Protector Somerset complaining of several parts of the service, on information which he appears to have obtained from Bucer." The historians Heylin and Collier both say that the alterations now made were owing "to the remonstrances of Calvin, and the active co-operation of Martyr and Bucer." Bucer and Martyr not knowing the English language perfectly, Cranmer placed in Bucer's hands a Latin translation of the Prayer-Book by Aless, a Scotch divine, and the Latin version by Sir John Cheke was given to Peter Martyr. After making their notes and corrections separately, they were found on comparison to be very similar, and Strype says that "such deference was paid to Bucer's judgment that most of the things that he excepted against were corrected accordingly."

Martyr's spirit and acute discernment may be seen even in little matters which Bucer passed over. For instance,

Bucer did not notice in the first book that in the Communion of the Sick the clergyman was directed to take some of the Communion bread from the parish church to administer to the sick. This Martyr, the Oxford Professor, detected as containing the germ of a Popish presence in the bread. He saw, and truly so, that it was not the eating, but believing, was the means of receiving—a most important distinction. Hence the rubric to the service for the sick, cautioning all to notice that eating and drinking is not absolutely necessary, seeing the reception is not by means of the mouth, but through faith or believing.

It is interesting to remember that one of the four Protestant martyrs who were imprisoned in the salt-fish cellar of Cardinal Wolsey's New College at Oxford (Master Clarke), when taken out of that prison and laid in his own rooms to die, requested the privilege of receiving the Communion. This was denied him. He was a man much looked up to as the leader of the little Protestant band, a Master of Arts, and over thirty years of age; therefore his behaviour was the more marked when denied the bread and wine. He was in a position that would have appalled the heart of the stoutest Romanist, but it does not seem to have discomposed him in the least. He exclaimed, "*Crede, et manducasti*" (Believe, and thou hast eaten), and died.

Now, it is remarkable that, twenty-two years after this took place, in the very same college, Peter Martyr should be employed to revise our Prayer-Book, and in doing so should have occasion to define the very same doctrine that poor Clarke rested in—" *Crede, et manducasti*." Nevertheless, we know that neither Wolsey's martyr, Clarke, nor Peter Martyr intended that anyone should neglect the positive command to "eat and drink in remembrance," only to guard against the delusion of supposing that the bread and wine contain any spiritual qualities. The poor ignorant Papists withheld from the dying man the bread and wine, but they could not withhold from him communion with his Saviour by faith or believing.

Another of the revisers of our Liturgy was Archbishop

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Grindal, to whom the poet Spenser refers in his "Shepheards' Calendar" under the name of Algrind—

" But Shepherds (as Algrind us'd to say)
Must not live ylike as the men of the laye."

The fellow-exile and companion of John Foxe, Grindal assisted him greatly in compiling the "Book of Martyrs." It was very fitting that the man who took such pains to procure correct information of the martyrdoms of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who first planned our Prayer-Book, should himself afterwards be one of the Commission to review and restore it to the Church, and when the new Book of Common Prayer was first used at St. Paul's, May 15, 1559, should be the preacher before the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City. Grindal's thorough Protestantism is evident in all his official acts as Bishop and Archbishop. Very zealous was he in the destruction of all the accessories of the Popish service. He left no means unused for abolishing stone altars, with their accompaniments of hand-bells, censers, pixes, paxes, etc., everywhere.

Nevertheless, Grindal was one of the moderate party among the returned exiles. Some there were who would not submit to Elizabeth's requirements, even of the use of the surplice, or any of the other vestments, and so refused office; but others, as Grindal, Horn, Jewell, etc., acting under the advice of their foreign friends, resolved to submit in little matters for the sake of preaching the Gospel. The following extract will show their feeling:

*Bishops Grindal and Horn to Henry Bullinger and
Rudolph Gualter.*

" LONDON,
" February, 1567.

" Your erudite letter to Humphrey and Sampson (Oxford), so well adapted for allaying both our diversities of opinions respecting the habits and our verbal altercations and disputes, we have received with the greatest satisfaction. We have also undertaken—not, however, without due consideration, and with the omission of names of our

brethren—to have it printed and published, from which step we have derived the good effect we expected. For it has been of much use to sound and sensible men, who look to the general design and object of the Gospel, and has certainly persuaded some of the clergy who were thinking of withdrawing from the ministry on account of the affair of the habits (which was the only occasion of controversy and the cause of contention among us) not to suffer the Churches to be deprived of their services on so slight a ground, and it has established and brought them over to your opinion. But, honoured brethren in Christ, we call Almighty God to witness that this dissension has not been occasioned by any fault of ours, nor is it owing to us that vestments of this kind have not been altogether done away with; so far from it that we most solemnly make oath that we have hitherto laboured with all earnestness, fidelity, and diligence to effect what our brethren require and ourselves wish. But now we are brought into such straits. What is to be done but that, since we cannot do what we would, we should do in the Lord what we can? We do not assert that the chaunting in churches together with the organ is to be retained, but we disapprove of it, as we ought to do. The Church of England, too, has entirely given up the use of prayers in a foreign tongue, breathings, exorcisms, oil, spittle, clay, lighted tapers, and other things of the kind, which by the Act of Parliament are never to be restored. In the receiving of the Lord's Supper we break the bread in common to every communicant, not putting it into his mouth, but placing it in his hand."

Grindal, soon after his appointment as Bishop, put down clerical processions. Writing to the Archdeacon of Essex, May 13, 1560, he directs him to see that in Rogation Week, "for avoiding of superstitious behaviour, the ministers make it not a Procession, but a Perambulation, and also that they suffer no Banners nor other like monuments of superstition to be carried abroad, the ministers to go without surplices and lights."

Another on the Prayer-Book Commission was Bishop Pilkington, of Durham, the friend and companion of John Foxe in exile. Strype says of him : "The good old Bishop of Durham, a grave and truly reverend man of great piety and learning, and such frugal simplicity of life as well, became a modest Christian prelate." Pilkington was a thorough Protestant of the Church of England school. Of our Prayer-Book he was a great advocate and defender. He said : "Our service hath nothing in it but what is written in God's Book, the Holy Bible, saving *Te Deum* and a few collects and prayers which, although they be not contained in the Scripture, yet differing in words, they agreed in sense and meaning with the Articles of faith." And again : "A prayer not understood in the heart, but spoken with the lips, is rather to be counted prating and bawling [? Intoning and Chaunting in Latin] than praying with good devotion."

From Pilkington's reply to a Papist :

"In Durham I grant the Bishop that now is and his predecessor were not of one religion in divers points, nor made Bishops after one fashion. This hath neither Crozier nor Mitre, never sware against his prince his allegiance to the Pope; this hath neither power to christen bells nor hallow chalices and superaltars, etc., as the other had, and with gladness praises God that keeps him from such filthiness; his predecessor wrote, preached, and sware against the Pope [time of Henry VIII.], yet being restored [time of Mary] submitted himself to the Pope again. Stout Stephen Gardiner and Bloody Bonner, with other champions living, be in like case. God defend all good people from such religion and Bishops."

There were others concerned in compiling the Prayer-Book, such as Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury, Parker, and our Oxford scholar, David Whitehead, whom Anthony Wood terms "a great light of learning, and a most heavenly professor of divinity of his time." And, further, when the Queen offered him the Archbishopric of Canter-

bury, he refused it, saying that he could "live by preaching," he being "much delighted in travelling to and fro to preach the Word of God in those places where he thought it was wanting." What is this we see? One of the men who helped to make our Prayer-Book declining the Archbishopric that he might not be hindered travelling to and fro to preach in dark places. This is very instructive to us, as showing the precedence given by the men of those days to preaching the Word.

The name of William Wittingham may be noticed as one of the contributors to the Old Version of Psalms and Hymns, by which the Reformers sought to supply in some measure the materials needed for the musical part of the service, when the chanting of prayers, whether in Latin or English, was abolished.

The Old Version of Psalms and Hymns in rhyme, set to simple melodies for congregational singing, is a strikingly Protestant feature of our Prayer-Book. Being a practice quite new to England, it was known for many years as the Geneva fashion. When the new Prayer-Book was introduced, Strype tells us: "The morning prayer began at St. Antholin's in September, the bell beginning to ring at five, when a Psalm was sung after the Geneva fashion, all the congregation—men, women, and boys—singing together." Also Bishop Jewell, in a letter to Peter Martyr, March 5, 1560, says: "Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in Church music has very much conduced to this. For so soon as they had once commenced singing in public in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at St. Paul's Cross after the service six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, singing together and praising God. This sadly annoys the Mass Priests, and the Devil, etc."

Psalm and hymn singing soon spread over the length and

breadth of the land, and has been one great means of perpetuating Protestant principles. It is true that modern hymns and music have superseded the Old Version, but they are its true descendants, and among them the Old Hundredth and others have become household words, and will doubtless ever keep their ground in the Church. Music and singing have their place when we sing God's praises with understanding.

The Old Version was the work of various hands (indicated by their initials), of whom Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, William Wittingham, and Thomas Norton, all more or less connected with Oxford, were chief. It was a remarkable thing that Sternhold, a courtier, being Groom of the Robes to Henry VIII. and Edward VI., should be "a very strict liver," and turn fifty-one of David's Psalms into verse for the use of the Church, and Hopkins the poet, his friend, fifty-eight. But the most conspicuous among the authors was William Wittingham, M.A., of Oxford, and Dean of Durham. He was born at Chester, and became Commoner of Brazenose College, Oxford, about 1540. In 1545 he was elected Fellow of All Souls, and two years after was made one of the senior students of Christ Church when founded by King Henry. Obtaining leave to travel, he spent some time on the Continent, returning at the close of King Edward's reign. In Queen Mary's reign he again left England for France, and thence to Frankfort. Being earnestly pressed by John Calvin to succeed Knox as minister of the English Congregation, after much hesitation he consented, and was ordained according to the Geneva form. He also joined with Miles Coverdale and others in translating the Bible (which was called the "Geneva Translation," passed through twenty to thirty editions, and was the first Bible printed in numerical verses). At the same time he turned into metre those Psalms which have his initials, etc.—as, *e.g.*,

"The Lord is only my support,
And He that doth me feed,
How can I then lack anything
Whereof I stand in need?"

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On his return to England he was made Dean of Durham, which office he held about sixteen years. He was careful to provide the best music and anthems for the cathedral choir, and when upbraided by one who knew him at Geneva for wearing the appointed vestments, he answered that he had heard John Calvin say that for "external matters of order they might not neglect their ministry, for so should they for tithing of mint neglect the greater things of the Law."

This vestment question was a serious source of trouble, and we shall greatly misunderstand it if we think only of the extreme men who denounced even the surplice. Neither Calvin nor Wittingham had any objection to Episcopacy and orderly vestments: it was Prelacy and gaudy Popish costume they abhorred; and here we may remark that it was not one or two, but all of our Prayer-Book worthies who objected to the golden vestments and ornaments which Queen Elizabeth would have retained, and it is entirely owing to their resistance to her wishes that the clerical costume of the Church of England is so simple and unobjectionable as it is. A letter written on this subject will show their mind.

William Wittingham to the Earl of Leicester
(*Extract from Letter*).

"I understand they are about to compel us, contrary to our consciences, to wear the popish apparel, or deprive us of our ministry and livings. Yet when I consider the weighty charge enjoined upon us by Almighty God, and the exact account we have to give of the right use and faithful dispensation of His mysteries, I cannot doubt which to choose. He that would prove the use of the apparel to be a thing indifferent, and may be imposed, must prove that it tendeth to God's glory, that it agreeth with his Word, that it edifieth his Church, and that it maintaineth Christian liberty. But if it wanteth these things, then it is not indifferent, but hurtful.

And how can God's glory be advanced by those garments

which antichristian superstition hath invented to maintain and beautify idolatry? What agreement can the superstitious inventions of men have with the pure Word of God? What edification can there be when the Spirit of God is grieved, the children of God discouraged, wicked papists confirmed, and a door open for such popish traditions and antichristian impiety? And can that be called true Christian liberty when a yoke is laid upon the necks of the disciples, where the conscience is clogged with impositions, where faithful preachers are threatened with deprivation, where the regular dispensation of the Word of God is interrupted, where congregations are robbed of their learned and godly pastors, and where the holy Sacraments are made subject to superstitious and idolatrous vestments?

“Your Lordship will thus see that to use the ornaments and manners of the wicked is to approve of their doctrine. God forbid that we, by wearing the popish attire as a thing merely indifferent, should seem to consent to their superstitious errors. The ancient fathers with one consent acknowledge that all agreement with idolatry is so far from being indifferent that it is exceedingly pernicious. Some will say that the apparel is not designed to set forth popery, but for good policy. Will it, then, be good policy to deck the Spouse of Christ with the ornaments of the Babylonish strumpet, or to force her faithful pastors to be decorated like superstitious papists? God would not permit the people of old to retain any of the Gentile manners for the sake of policy, but expressly forbade their imitation of them, and commanded them to destroy all the appurtenances of idolatry and superstition. And in the time of the Gospel, our Lord did not think it good policy either to wear the pharisaical robe Himself, or to suffer any of His disciples to do it, but condemned it as altogether superstitious. When I consider that Jeroboam maintained his calves in Dan and Bethel under the plausible name of policy, it makes me tremble to see the popish ornaments set forth under the same pretence. For if policy may serve as a cloke to super-

stition and papistry, then Mitres and Crosses, Oil and Cream, Images and Candles, Palms and Beads, with most of the other branches of Antichrist, may again be introduced."

The sum of the matter is this : Whether we look at the origin, the materials of which they are composed, or the authors, our Church Formularies are altogether Protestant in intention and design ; neither do they afford the slightest countenance to those who are trying to revive the medieval corruptions.

CHAPTER III

THE WRITINGS OF THE REFORMERS DEFINE WITHOUT HESITATION THE TRUE GROUND OF THEIR SEPARATION FROM ROME

THE Reformers were separatists in the best sense of the word. They responded without hesitation to the call, "Come out of her, and be ye separate, that ye be not partakers of her sins." Charged with forsaking the Catholic Church, with its Apostolic Succession, accused with the guilt of schism and heresy, they were unmoved. Educated as Romanists, they knew well what they were leaving. Their eyes had been opened to see the vital difference between the religion of Rome and that of the Bible, and therefore they felt that separation from Rome was their first *duty*.

Instead of recognizing the courage of those brave men, some modern writers wish to prove that the separation took place when the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth, and that until then there had been no break between the Churches.

The broad lines of history, however, show that as long as Henry VIII. lived there was no national and formal forsaking of Popery; on the contrary, Popery was dominant, as the Act of Six Articles, Anne Askew, and the Smithfield fires, bear witness, even long after the Papal supremacy was rejected. No sooner, however, was Edward fairly seated on his throne than the national banner of Protestantism was unfurled, bearing the Articles of Religion, Rome about the same time setting up her standard at the Council of Trent. That was the date of the separation of

the two Churches, and to these have they appealed ever since. It is true that Mary vainly tried to set aside that declaration, but the pouring out of the blood of Cranmer and a host of other Protestants served only to cement the foundations of the English Church, which, phoenix-like, rose with renewed life, and seems destined to spread to the ends of the earth.

But what do the Reformers themselves say on this point ?

Bishop Jewell wrote his celebrated work, "*Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," which was placed in all churches with Foxe's "*Martyrology*," to vindicate the Church of England before all the world for her departure from Rome. Thus Jewell himself speaks in a letter to Peter Martyr, February, 1562 :

"We have lately published an Apology for the change of religion among us, and *our departure from the Church of Rome*. I send you the book, etc."

Again, in the "*Apology*," he writes :

"But, say they, you have departed from us. It is true we have departed from them, and for so doing we both give thanks to Almighty God and greatly rejoice on our own behalf. But yet for all this, from the Primitive Church, from the Apostles, and from Christ, we have *not* departed. True it is we were brought up with them in darkness and in the lack of the knowledge of God, as Moses was brought up in the learning and bosom of the Egyptians. . . . They ought to consider withal how just cause we had of our departure. . . . Why complain they not also of this, that Lot went quite his way out of Sodom, Abram out of Chaldee, the Israelites out of Egypt, Christ from the Jews, and Paul from the Pharisees ?"

"Our departure," as Bishop Jewell remarks, voluntarily, without excommunication, made the separation ; besides, it was so in all individual cases, as well as by the State under Edward. When Rogers, the protomartyr, just before his burning, was cut off from the Romish Communion, as the custom was, by degradation and excommunication, he told Bonner that he might have saved himself that trouble,

for he had not belonged to them for the twenty years past ; and so of many others.

An interesting glimpse of those days we have in the following :

Bishop Jewell to Peter Martyr.

“ LONDON,
“ August 1, 1559.

“ I have, my father, written to you less frequently because many engagements have prevented, and I have now one foot on the ground and the other almost on my horse's back. I am on the point of setting out upon a long and troublesome commission for the establishment of religion through Reading, Abingdon, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Wells, Exeter, Cornwall, Dorset, and Salisbury. The extent of my journey will be about 700 miles ; so that I imagine we shall hardly be able to return in less than 4 months. Wherefore, lest you should in the mean time suppose me dead, notwithstanding I wrote you twelve days since our common affairs, I think it not unmeet to send you this short greeting at the very moment of my setting out.

“ Our affairs are now in a favourable condition. The Queen is exceedingly well disposed, and the people everywhere thirsting after religion. The Bishops, rather than abandon the Pope, whom they have so often abjured before, are willing to suffer everything. Not, however, that they do so for the sake of religion, of which they have none, but for the sake of consistency, which the miserable knaves now choose to call conscience. Now that religion is everywhere changed the Mass Priests absent themselves altogether from public worship, as if it were the greatest impiety to have anything in common with the people of God. But the fury of these wretches is so great that nothing can exceed it. They are altogether full of hopes and anticipations (for, as you know, they are a most anticipative race, and mightily given to futuritions) that these things cannot last long. But whatsoever may happen in the future, we render thanks to Almighty God that our affairs are as they are.

"Everything is in a ferment in Scotland. Knox, surrounded by 1,000 followers, is holding assemblies throughout the kingdom. The old Queen-dowager has been compelled to shut herself up in a garrison. The nobility, with united hearts and hands, are restoring religion throughout the country, in spite of all opposition. All the monasteries are everywhere levelled with the ground; the theatrical dresses, the sacrilegious Chalices, the Idols, the Altars are consigned to the flames; not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left, etc. Farewell, my father, farewell.

"Your every way most attached

"JOHN JEWELL."

With regard to the obligation felt by the English Reformers to those on the Continent, where for so many years shelter and hospitality had been freely given to the English exiles, there is abundant evidence. There was a truly Catholic and Christian recognition of their fellowship in doctrine, as Bishop Jewell, in his letter to Peter Martyr, February 7, 1562, speaking of the English Church, says: "As for matters of doctrine, we do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth." Besides this, there was a frank recognition of Presbyterian Orders in appointing those who held them to places of honour in the English Church, and in the definition of what constitutes valid ordination in the Articles. And the correspondence between the foreign leaders and our countrymen was of a most friendly nature—as, for example:

Rodolph Gualter to Queen Elizabeth.

"MOST SERENE QUEEN,

"ZURICH,

"January 16, 1559.

"Two things appear to me especially worthy of regard: First, that every reformation of the Church and of religion be conducted agreeably to the Word of God; and, next, that no opportunity be afforded to any among your counsellors whose endeavours are tending to that object,

either entirely to hinder this most holy and necessary work, or at least to persuade you that it should still be deferred. In respect to the first, we know that there are not a few persons who, though they perceive that popery can neither honestly be defended nor conveniently retained, are endeavouring by-and-by to intrude upon the Churches a form of religion which is an unhappy compound of popery and the gospel, and from which there may at length be an easy passage to the ancient superstition.

“ But since the Apostle testifies that the Church is *born by the Word of God*, and that we must be born again in Christ and made new creatures, whatever is in any measure repugnant to the doctrine of Christ must be put off and laid aside, together with the old Adam; nor can any reformation of the Church be really acceptable to God unless it agree in every respect with His Word; and for this reason the Scripture commends the faith of Hezekiah, David, and Josiah, because they reformed the Church according to divinely prescribed laws, while it reprehends in no obscure terms the slothfulness of others who, though they wished to be regarded as the reformers and defenders of religion, yet retained the High places in which the people had been accustomed to offer sacrifice, contrary to the commandments of God. And your Majesty is aware of that saying of Christ, who declares that the new piece of evangelical doctrine will not suit the old garments of superstitions. And he solemnly warns us not to put the fermenting and wholesome new wine of his Gospel into old leathern bottles, unless we would have not only these to perish, but that to be spilled at the same time. From the experience of not a few instances in our Germany, we assuredly know it to be impossible ever to consult the peace of the Churches or the purity of religion as long as any relics of superstition are retained. For as those that are weak ascribe to them much more than is right, so the ignorant are made to stumble by them, and at the same time by their means the enemies of the truth entertain the hope of some time bringing back and restoring superstition,” etc.

The issue, then, was plain. On the one side we have—

“One stern tyrannic Church that makes
All other men its slaves.”

Rome, by virtue of her interpretation of Apostolic Succession, claims jurisdiction over every man's conscience; denies to the laity the right of possessing the Holy Scriptures and the right of private judgment; requires implicit submission to the decrees of the clergy; claims to have power over the bodies as well as the souls of men; that the power of the clergy reaches even beyond the grave to souls in purgatory; and, finally, that out of the pale of their Church there is no salvation. Such was, and still is, Romanism.

In contrast to this, the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Church of England grant perfect *religious liberty*. The Reformers either in England or abroad agree that all their Divinity shall be drawn from the Bible; their appeal is not to the traditions of men, but to the writings of the Apostles, and the promised help of God's Holy Spirit. They reiterate the closing invitation of Inspiration, “Whosoever will, let him take of the Water of Life *freely*,” and the words of their Lord, “Whosoever believeth on Me shall never die: believest thou this?” as superseding all Confession to sinful man, all vain penances, or human merits, and the law of love to God and man as the guiding star of human life.

Thus Protestant Church Principles contrast most favourably with the narrow and bigoted theories of Rome; they recognize as brethren all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, whether in Episcopal or Non-Episcopal Communion, and doubt not that even in the Romish Church itself there are individuals who, while surrounded with many adverse circumstances—

“Standing among them, but not of them,
In a shroud of thoughts which are not their thoughts”

—are known and kept of God. They absolutely forbid persecution, and proclaim liberty of soul and body. In short, they follow the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles, and not the rulers of the Jewish Church, whose zeal for their

traditions led them, like their successors in the Christian Church, to persecute both Christ and His true followers.

But the Reformers not only (1) separated from Rome; they (2) rejected her claim of Apostolic Succession, (3) plainly described her character, and (4) showed how fully sufficient was the Word of God.

The talented Sir Thomas More, in his Dialogue against Tyndale, gives us an illustration of the arguments common in his day :

"Upon Peter's first confession of the right faith that Christ was God's Son, our Lord made him His Universal Vicar . . . therefore he showed Him that his faith—*i.e.*, the faith by him confessed—should never fail in his Church; nor did it, notwithstanding his denying, for yet stood still the light of faith *in our Lady*, of whom we read in the Gospel she gave continual assistance to her sweetest son without fleeing or flitting, as in all other we find. . . . For the remembrance whereof the Church yearly, in the Tenebræ lessons, leaveth her candle burning still when all the remnant signifying the Apostles be one by one put out. And since his faith *abode in our Lady*, the promise that God made was meant to him but as Head of the Church."

It was easy for Tyndale to show how absurd was such an argument by placing this idea side by side with Holy Scripture : "Simon, Satan seeketh to sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee (that my mother's faith shall not fail); strengthen thy brethren."

Archbishop Cranmer, from his answers concerning the Sacraments (about 1540) :

"In the admission of Officers (Bishops, Priests, Curates, etc.) be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of *necessity*, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and administrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed, and *there is no more promise of God that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office than in the committing of the civil office.*

"The Bishops and Priests at one time were not two things, but both one office, in the beginning of Christ's religion.

"A Bishop may make a priest by Scripture, and so may Princes and Governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election, for as we read that Bishops have done it, so Christian Emperors and Princes usually have done it, and the people, before Christian Princes were, did commonly elect their Bishops and Priests.

"In the New Testament he that is appointed to be a Bishop or a Priest needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient."

Latimer on True Succession and True Shepherds.

From a sermon of 1550, "Render to Cæsar," etc. :

"Give part to him that teacheth you in all good things ; see he have sufficient living. But who shall appoint him a sufficient living ? Himself ? Nay. Who, then ? You ? Nay, neither. The King must appoint him sufficient to live upon, and you must pay it to them truly. For God commandeth you to obey the King's laws, and *by the same laws the King giveth the minister his tithe and other duties.* Therefore, upon peril of thy soul, thou art bound to obey thy King, and to pay thy Curate that tithe that thou art commanded.

"But some will say : ' Our Curate is naught, an ass-head, a dodipole, a lack-latin, and can-do-nothing. Shall I pay him my tithes, that doth us no good, nor none will do ? ' Yea, I say, thou must pay him his duties, and if he be such a one, complain to the Bishop. ' We have complained to the Ordinary, and he is as negligent as he. ' Complain to the Council. ' Sir, we have done so, and no remedy can be had. ' Well, I can tell thee where thou shalt complain. Complain to God ; He will surely hear thee ; He will remedy it.

"Christ saw the people lying ' as sheep having no shepherd. ' They had Bishops, Scribes and Pharisees, Curates in name a *great many*, yet were they ' as sheep having no

shepherd. What is that to say? They had no *true teachers*; they had no *preachers* of the *law of God* to them. What remedy taught Christ for it? Withdraw their livings? Nay. Make tumults? Nay, but 'Pray the Lord of the Harvest.' Pray, pray. Prayer is the remedy that never faileth. Therefore pray unto God, and He will either turn his heart and make him better, or remove him from thee, and send a better in his place."

Bishop Ridley, "The Church and Apostolical Succession."

The Papists' Objection.—"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself if you forsake 'the Church.'"

Answer by Ridley.—"The holy Catholic or universal Church, which is the Communion of Saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth, this Church I believe according to the Creed; this Church I do reverence and honour in the Lord.

"But the rule of this Church is the Word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. 'And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be unto them, and upon Israel, which pertaineth to God. The guide of this Church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this Church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: The sincere preaching of God's Word, the due administration of the Sacraments, charity, and the faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline according to the Word of God. And that Church or Congregation which is garnished with these marks is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die a child of this Church. Forth of this I grant there is no salvation.

"In times past (saith Chrysostom) there were many ways to know the Church of Christ—that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering

the Sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the Churches it is *only known by the Scriptures which is the true Church*. They have all things in outward show which the true Church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours, etc., and in the end concludeth, therefore, only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true Church.

“The Church which I have described is visible ; it hath members which may be seen ; and also I have before declared by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world that it is hard to discern the true Church, that is not the fault of the Church, but either of our blindness or Satan’s darkness.

“But yet in this most deep darkness there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness. ‘Thy Word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.’ ‘Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living ?’ saith Isaiah. ‘Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony,’ etc. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth unto the Scriptures, saying : ‘Search the Scriptures.’ I remember a like thing well spoken by Jerome : ‘Ignorance of the Scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors,’ and, ‘The knowledge of the Scriptures is the food of everlasting life.’

“Christ would have the Church, His Spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the Word of His Father, written in both Testaments, the Old and the New.

“Neither do we read that Christ in any place hath laid so *great a burden* upon the Members of His Spouse that He hath commanded them to go to the ‘Universal Church.’ Whatsoever things are written are written for our learning, etc., and it is true that Christ gave unto His Church some Apostles, some prophets, etc. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ nor written in the Word of God.”

Bishop Hooper, from his "Confession of Faith," 1550 :

"As concerning the Ministers of the Church, I believe that the Church is bound to no sort of people, or any ordinary Succession of Bishops, Cardinals, or such-like, but unto the *only* Word of God, and none of them should be believed but when they speak the Word of God. I am sorry, therefore, with all my heart, to see the Church of Christ degenerated into a civil policy . . . so that the Holy Ghost must be captive and bondman to Bishops, Sees, and Palaces.

"And because the Holy Ghost was in St. Peter at Rome, and in many other godly men that have occupied bishoprics, therefore the same gifts, they say, must needs follow in *their successors*, although, indeed, they be no more like of zeal nor diligence than Peter and Judas, Balaam and Jeremy, Annas and Caiaphas, to John and James. But thus I conclude of the Ministers of whatsoever degree or dignity soever they be: they be no better than records and testimonies, ministers and servants of God's Word and God's Sacraments, unto which they should neither add, diminish, nor change anything."

From "A Declaration of Christ and His Offices" :

"Such as teach the people to know the Church by these signs—namely, the *traditions* of men and the *succession* of Bishops—*teach wrong*. Those two *false* opinions hath given unto the succession of Bishops power to interpretate the Scripture, and power to make such laws in the Church as pleaseth them.

"There is no man hath power to interpretate the Scripture. God, for the preservation of His Church, doth give unto certain persons the gift and knowledge to open the Scripture, but that gift is no power bound to any order, succession of Bishops, or title of dignity. The adversaries of the truth defend many a false error under the name of the Holy Church, therefore these treasons and secret conspiracies must be taken heed of; and when the Church is named, diligently to consider, when the

articles they would defend were accepted of the Church, by whom, and who was the author of them. Leave not till the matter be brought unto the first, original, and most perfect Church of the Apostles. If thou find by their writings that their Church used the thing that the preacher would prove, then accept it, or else not. Be not amazed though they speak of never so many years, nor name never so many doctors. Christ and His Apostles be grand-fathers in age to the doctors and masters in learning. Repose thyself only upon the Church which they have taught thee by the Scripture. Fear neither of the ordinary power or succession of Bishops, nor of the greater part. For if either the authority of Bishops, or the greater part, should have power to interpretate the Scripture, the sentence of the Pharisees should have been preferred before the sentence of Zachary, Simeon, Elizabeth, or the Blessed Virgin. Consider that many times the true Church is but a small congregation, as Esay saith : ' Except the Lord had left us a remnant, we had been as Sodom.' Therefore is not the interpretation of the Scripture obligated unto an ordinary power, nor to the most part, as Noah, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David, and Christ's time testified ?

" Beware of deceit when thou hearest the name of ' the Church.' The truth then is assaulted. They call the church of the devil the holy Church many times. Remember, Christian reader, that the gift of interpretation of Scripture is the light of the Holy Ghost given unto the humble and penitent person that seeketh it only to honour God, and not unto those persons that claim it by title or place, because he is a Bishop, or followed by succession Peter or Paul. Examine their laws by the Scripture, and thou shalt then perceive they be the enemies of Christ's Church, and the very church of Korah. Remember, therefore, to examine all kinds of doctrine by the Word of God, for such as preach it aright have their infirmities and ignorances. They may depart from the truth, or else build some superstitious and false doctrine upon the Gospel of

Christ. Superstition is to be avoided, false doctrine to be abhorred, whosoever be the author thereof, prince, magistrate, or bishop, as the Apostle made answer (Acts v.): 'We must rather obey God than man.' "

Archdeacon Philpot, Martyr: From his Examination.

"ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. How answer you to this argument? Rome hath a known succession of Bishops, which your Church hath not. Therefore this is the Catholic Church and yours is not, because there is no such succession can be proved for your Church.

"PHILPOT. I deny [my lord] that succession of Bishops is an infallible point to know the Church by; for there may be a succession of Bishops known in a place and yet there be no Church, as at Antioch and at Jerusalem, and in other places where the Apostles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of Bishops *succession of doctrine* [as St. Austin doth], I will grant it to be a good proof for the Catholic Church; *but a local succession is nothing available.*

"YORK. You will have no Church, then, I see well.

"PHILPOT. Yes, my lord, I acknowledge the Catholic Church, as I am bound by my Creed, but I cannot acknowledge a false Church for the true."

Tyndale on "Orders"—Priesthood:

"There is a word called in Latin "*sacerdos*," in Greek "*hiereus*," in Hebrew "*cohen*"—that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or a priest, as Aaron was a priest and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them. And in the English should it have had some other name than priest, but Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms, to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever, and all are priests through Him, and need no more of any such priests on earth to be a *mean for us* unto God; for Christ hath brought us all into the inner temple within the veil, and unto the mercy-seat

of God, and hath joined us unto God, where we offer, *every man for himself*, the desires and petitions of his heart, and sacrifice and kill the lusts and appetites of the flesh with prayers, fasting, and all manner of godly living.

“Another word there is in Greek called ‘Presbyter,’ in Latin ‘Senior,’ in English ‘an Elder,’ and is nothing but an officer to *teach*, and *not* to be a mediator between God and us. This needeth no anointing of man. They of the Old Testament were anointed with oil to signify the anointing of Christ, and of us, through Christ, with the Holy Ghost. Thiswise is no man priest, but he that is chosen ; save as in time of necessity every person christeneth, so may every man teach his wife and household, and the wife her children. So in time of need, if I see my brother sin, I may between him and me rebuke him and damn his sin by the law of God ; and may also comfort them that are in despair with the promises of God, and Save them if they believe.

“By a priest, then, in the New Testament understand nothing but an *Elder* to teach the younger, and bring them unto the full knowledge and understanding of Christ, and to minister the Sacraments which Christ ordained, which is also nothing but to preach Christ’s promises.

“And by them which give all their study to quench the light of truth (the Bible) and to hold the people in darkness understand the disciples of Satan and messengers of Antichrist, whatsoever names they have, or whatsoever they call themselves. And as concerning our Spirituality (as they will be called), who make themselves holier than the lay people, and take so great lands and goods to pray for them, and promise them pardons and forgiveness of sins, or absolution without preaching of Christ’s promises, it is falsehood and the working of Antichrist.

“Nevertheless, the truth is that we are all equally beloved in Christ, and God hath sworn to all indifferently. According, therefore, as every man believeth God’s promises, longeth for them, and is diligent to pray unto God to fulfil them, so is his prayer heard, and as good is the

prayer of a cobbler as of a Cardinal, and of a butcher as of a Bishop ; and the blessing of a baker that knoweth the truth is as good as the blessing of our most holy Father the Pope.

“Last of all, one singular doubt they have. What maketh the priest, the anointing, or putting on of the hands, or what other ceremony, or what other words, about which they brawl and scold, one ready to tear out another’s throat ? One saith this, another that, but they cannot agree. Neither can any of them make so strong a reason which another cannot disprove, for they are all out of the way, and without the Spirit of God to judge in spiritual things. Howbeit, to this I answer that when Christ called twelve up into the mountain and chose them, then immediately, without any anointing or ceremony, were they His Apostles—that is, to wit, *ministers* chosen to be sent to preach His Testament unto all the whole world.

“When Matthias was chosen by lot, it is not to be doubted but that the Apostles, after their common manner, prayed for him that God would give him grace to minister his office truly ; and put their hands on him and exhorted him, and gave him charge to be diligent and faithful, and then was he as great as the best.

“Neither is there any other manner or ceremony at all *necessary*. And as for that other solemn doubt, as they call it, whether Judas was a Priest or no ? I care not what he then was, but of this I am sure : that he is now (1527) not only Priest, but also Bishop, Cardinal, and Pope.”

Bishop Pilkington, one of the Prayer-Book Commissioners :

“Succession of good Bishops is a great blessing of God, but because God and His truth hangs not on man nor place, we rather hang on the undeeceivable truth of God’s Word in all doubts than on any Bishop, place, or man, for ‘all men are liars,’ and may be deceived ; only God and His Word is true, and neither deceive nor is deceived.

"God has not promised that any Bishopric should always have good Bishops one after another, no more than one good father should have always good children.

"The glorying of this succession is like the proud brags of the Jews for their genealogies and pedigrees, saying, 'We have Abraham for our father'; but our Saviour Christ saith, 'Ye are of your father the devil, and his works ye will do.' So it may be said of these which crack that they have the Apostles for their fathers, that they have the Pope for their father, for his works and doctrines they follow, and not the Apostles. As Christ our Lord therefore proved the Jews to be of the devil because they fulfilled his desires, and therefore not the children of Abraham, so it is easy to see whose children these be, when they follow the Pope and not the Apostles.

"*Succession in Doctrine* makes them the sons of the Prophets and Apostles, and not sitting in the same seat, nor being Bishop of the same place. And for a succession of agreement in one doctrine and religion and other their doings they cannot find it in Rome (of whose Bishops some were heretics, and some very wicked).

"Except God dwell and be tied in chairs, seats, and places, He cannot dwell in such wicked men as these Popes be. 'God dwells not in temples made with hands,' nor in the mighty prelates of the world, but He dwells in the pure minds and consciences of His elect people, of what estate or degree soever they be. Compare the doings, preachings, and troublesome life of Peter the Apostle from time to time with the wicked blasphemies of the Romish Prelates and with their lordly idleness, and mark in what things he is like to them, or they to him. They are no more alike than an Apple and Oyster; then cannot he be their predecessor nor they his successors. If they claim to be Judas's successors, I will not stick with them.

In temporal inheritance an evil man may succeed as right heir to a good, but in matters of pure religion a heretic, or he that differs from the truth, cannot be a lawful successor in God's Church. Therefore, as the suc-

cession of good kings stands not only in enjoying the lands, etc., but in ministering of justice and defending his subjects, so stands the succession of the Church, not in Mitres, palaces, or lordships, but in teaching true doctrine and rooting out the contrary. He that does these is the true successor of the Apostles, though he live in a wilderness, as Elias did ; he that does not is not their successor in deed, but in name only, though he have the Pope's blessing, Crozier, and Mitre."

John Bradford, Martyr, of whom Bishop Ridley says :
 "I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with our dear brother Bradford, and that ever I had such a one in my house."

Conversation with Archdeacon Harpsfield.

"HARPSFIELD. The Church hath also succession of Bishops." (And here he made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.)

"BRADFORD. You say as you would have it, for if this point fail you, all the Church you go about to set forth will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential point of succession of Bishops. In Christ's Church Antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us as it were in the old Church before Christ's coming, so it will be in the new Church since Christ's coming ; that is, as there were false prophets, and such as bear rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be false teachers, even of such as be Bishops and bear rule amongst the people.

"HARPSFIELD. You always go out of the matter, but I will prove the succession of Bishops.

"BRADFORD. Do so.

"HARPSFIELD. Tell me, were not the Apostles Bishops ?

"BRADFORD. No, except you will make a new definition of Bishops—that is, give him no certain place.

"HARPSFIELD. Indeed, the Apostles' office was more than Bishops, for it was universal ; but yet Christ instituted Bishops in His Church, as Paul saith, 'He hath given pastors,

prophets'; so that I trow it be proved by Scripture the succession of Bishops to be an essential point.

"BRADFORD. The Ministry of God's Word and Ministers is an essential point, but to translate this to Bishops and their succession is plain subtlety, and therefore, that I may be plain, I will ask you a question: Tell me whether the Scriptures know any difference between Bishops and Ministers, which you call priests.

"HARPSFIELD. No.

"BRADFORD. Well, then, go on forwards, and let us see what you shall get now by succession of Bishops—that is, of Ministers, which cannot be understood of such Bishops as minister not, but lord it.

"HARPSFIELD. I perceive that you are far out of the way."

The Twenty-fifth Article says that "Orders," Matrimony, Penance, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction are *not* to be accounted for *Sacraments* of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, etc. Here is the deliberate rejection on the part of the Reformers of the fable of Apostolical Succession involved in the Sacrament of Orders, which had been for so long used to terrorize the people:

"Neither give heed to fables, and endless genealogies which minister questions, rather than godly edifying which is *in faith*: so do" (1 Tim. i. 4).

(3) The Reformers plainly described the true character of Rome.

Tyndale, from "Practice of Prelates"—How Popery Grew Up:

"To see how our holy Father came up, mark the example of an *ivy-tree*. First it springeth out of the earth, and then awhile creepeth along by the ground till it find a great tree. Then it joineth itself beneath alow unto the body of the tree, and creepeth up a little and a little fair and softly. And at the beginning, while it is yet thin and small that the burden is not perceived, it seemeth glorious to

garnish the tree in winter, and to bear off the tempests of the weather. But in the mean season thrusteth roots into the bark of the tree, to hold fast withal, and ceaseth not to climb up till it be at the top and above all. And then it sendeth its branches along by the branches of the tree, and overgroweth all and waxeth great, heavy, and thick, and sucketh the moisture so sore out of the tree and his branches that it choketh and stiflenth them. And then the foul stinking ivy waxeth mighty in the stump of the tree, and becometh a seat and a nest for all unclean birds, and for blind owls which hawk in the dark, and dare not come at the light. Even so the Bishop of Rome, now called Pope, at the beginning crope along the earth, and every man trod upon him in this world. But as soon as there came a Christian Emperor, he joined himself unto his feet and kissed them, and crope up a little with begging now this privilege, now that ; now this city, now that ; to find poor people withal, and the necessary ministers of God's Word. And he entituled the Emperor with choosing the Pope and other bishops, and promoted in the spirituality not whom virtue and learning, but whom the favour of great men, commended, to flatter, to get friends and defenders withal.

“ And the alms of the congregation, which was the food and patrimony of the poor and necessary preachers, that he called St. Peter's patrimony, St. Peter's rent, St. Peter's lands, St. Peter's right, to cast a vain fear and heathenish superstitiousness into the hearts of men, that no man should dare meddle with whatsoever came once into their hands, for fear of St. Peter, though they ministered it never so evil, and that they which should think it none alms to give them any more should yet give St. Peter somewhat to purchase an advocate and an intercessor of St. Peter, and that St. Peter should at the first knock let them in. And thus, with flattering and feigning and vain superstition, under the name of St. Peter, he crept up and fastened his roots in the heart of the Emperor, and with his sword clamb up above all his fellow-bishops, and brought them under his feet. And as he subdued them with the Emperor's

sword, even so by subtilty and help of them (after that they were sworn faithful), he clamb above the Emperor, and subdued him also, and made him stoop unto his feet, and kiss them another while. Yea, Pope Cœlestinus (III.) crowned the Emperor Henry VI., holding the crown between his feet, and when he had put the crown on he smote it off with his feet again, saying that he had might to make Emperors, and to put them down again" (see Hoveden).

The Spirit of Popery, from Tyndale :

"Mark this also above all things, that Antichrist is not an outward thing—that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as our fathers talked of him. No, verily, for Antichrist is a *spiritual thing*, and is as much as to say 'against Christ'—that is, one that preacheth false doctrine contrary to Christ. Antichrist was in the Old Testament, and fought with the Prophets; he was also in the time of Christ and His Apostles, as thou readest in the Epistles of John, and of Paul to the Corinthians and Galatians, and other epistles. Antichrist is *now*, and shall, I doubt not, *endure till the world's end*. But his nature is when he is uttered and overcome with the Word of God, *to go out of the play for a season*, and to disguise himself, and then to *come in again with a new name and new raiment*."

Bishop Jewell, View of Popery, from a sermon on Haggai i. 2, 3, 4 :

"There is an old fable of Antichrist, that when he cometh he would turn trees upside down, and do such like wonders. But the marks whereby Antichrist shall be known indeed are otherwise set down in Holy Scriptures. On his coming 'Abomination shall stand in the holy place, and Truth shall be thrown down in the earth.'

"I know many men are offended to hear the Pope pointed out for Antichrist, and think it an uncharitable kind of doctrine; therefore I refrain to use any such names, and only will report to you of other, by what tokens Antichrist, when he cometh, may be known.

"Gregory, as it were in the spirit of prophecy, writing against John, Bishop of Constantinople, saith : 'The King of Pride is at hand, and (which is unlawful to be said) an army of priests is prepared. By these tokens,' saith Gregory, 'you may know him : he shall be the Prince of Pride, and he shall have an army of priests to wait upon him.' In another place he saith : 'Whosoever calleth himself Universal Priest, or desireth so to be called in the pride of his heart, is the forerunner of Antichrist.' These words were written by Gregory more than nine hundred years since. If there were any that might be known by these tokens, which was or is the 'Prince of Pride,' and is called the universal priest or Bishop, or hath an 'army of priests,' *I leave that to your judgment* whether the same be he whom Gregory describeth or some other. I pray God to enlighten the eyes of all the world that all the world may spy him, and the Man of Sin may be revealed.

"When certain Jews saw the miracles that Christ had done, they said : 'When Messias cometh, shall He do more signs than this man hath showed ?' So may we say by the Pope of Rome : 'When Antichrist cometh, shall he work more signs than they of that See have done ? shall he work more disorder in the Church ? shall he do more to the dishonour of God and against Christ ?'"

Jewell : "For the mystery of iniquity doth already work" (2 Thess. ii. 7) :

"Let us not be deceived. Antichrist shall certainly come, and shall draw many into error. We may not think that Antichrist shall come as a robber by the highways, or like a murderer, or tyrant that burneth our houses or sacketh our cities, etc. Nor shall he say I am an Antichrist. He shall not show himself in such sort. He is subtle and cunning ; he shall deceive the learned and wise ; he shall cast himself into a colour of holiness ; he shall fast ; he shall pray ; he shall give alms ; he shall counterfeit an angel of light, and the world shall follow him. So shall the mystery of iniquity work. They shall honour Antichrist unawares. They shall say we defy him and detest him, and

yet shall then fall down and worship him. This is a mystery. So secret shall his dealing be, it shall not be known to many. He shall walk in craftiness, and handle the Word of God deceitfully ; he shall mingle his lies with the truth of God ; he shall mingle his poison with the wholesome food of our souls so closely and so subtly that it shall hardly be espied. This is a mystery. Christ saith : ‘ A man sowed good seed in his field, but while men slept there came his foe and sowed tares.’ This mystery began in the days of the Apostles, and continueth on still unto our time. It is still at work. But who shall be deceived by him ? Are they the poor and unlearned ? No, no ; he shall deceive Priests, Bishops, and Archbishops, Princes, Kings, Emperors, etc. A thorn when it is young will not hurt you. A serpent when it is young is little and pretty ; you may take it in your hand, it will not hurt you. After it will increase in venom and grow in mischief, and be like itself. Even so is Antichrist : though he seem gentle, mild, and simple, yet he is Antichrist.

“ Who would think there were any evil in the ‘ Keys of the Church ’ ? They are the expounding of the law, and the disclosing of the will of God. They are the chiefest comfort of our conscience. But Antichrist shall take these keys unto himself, and shall build up his own kingdom with them. He shall shut that God hath opened, and open that God hath shut. This is also the mystery of iniquity.

“ Who would think there were any evil in the name of *the Church* ? It is the witness-bearer unto the Gospel. It is the pillar of truth. It is the spouse of Christ. Yet saith Christ : ‘ Antichrist shall come in My name. He shall seem to be holy, he shall talk of the Gospel, he shall carry the face of the Church, and deceive many.’ This is a mystery.

“ Now, if we have the Word of God before our eyes and regard it not, nor be thankful for it, God in His justice will withdraw it from us. Then shall we delight in darkness and have pleasure in error ; our latter end shall be more dreadful than was our first beginning. This is it which Paul saith : ‘ God shall send them strong delusions.’

Men shall be deceived mightily. They shall desire to be deceived, and shall bear a deadly hatred against him who-soever shall seek to reform them, so great and mighty shall be the delusion.

"Now it remaineth that we hear how Antichrist shall be overthrown. Not by any human power of Kings, or Bishops, or people, but by the power of God alone. 'The Lord shall consume him with the Spirit of His mouth.' The Apostle speaketh of the preaching of the Gospel. And here mark the Apostle's speech. He saith not God shall *convert* Antichrist or change his heart that he may be saved, but he saith, 'whom the Lord shall *consume*.' God's Word is almighty. By His Word He can do whatsoever pleaseth Him. He can make the deaf to hear, and the blind to see. He was able to call the thief upon the cross to repentance. He was able to raise up Lazarus out of his grave. He can bring down every high thing that is exalted against the glory of God, and bring kings and princes of the earth to the obedience of Christ. But of Antichrist, 'the Lord shall consume him.' Such is the hardness and blindness of his heart, he will not receive the love of the truth, he will not believe the truth of God that he might be saved; therefore destruction shall come."

In this way did the Reformers express their views of Popery. Let us now see what was their opinion of the sufficiency of Holy Scripture.

(4) The Bible *only* is the sure basis of the Church of England.

John Wycliffe :

"God's will is plainly revealed in the two Testaments, and may be called 'Christ's Law,' or the faith of the Church ; and Christ's law sufficeth *of itself* to rule Christ's Church, which Law a Christian man well understanding may thence gather sufficient knowledge during his pilgrimage on earth."

Again : "Those heretics are not to be heard who imagine

that temporal lords should not be allowed to possess the law of God, and that it is sufficient for them that they know what may be learnt concerning it from the lips of their priests and prelates. The faith of the Church is contained in the Scriptures ; the more these are known, then the better ; and as the secular men should assuredly understand the faith they profess, that faith should be taught in whatever language may be best known to them."

Cranmer on the Perfection of Holy Scripture :

"Unto a Christian man there can be nothing either more necessary or profitable than the knowledge of Holy Scripture, forasmuch as in it is contained God's true Word, setting forth His glory, and also man's duty. And there is no truth nor doctrine necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation but that is or may be drawn out of that fountain and well of truth. Therefore, as many as be desirous to enter into the right and perfect way unto God must apply their minds to know Holy Scripture, without which they can neither sufficiently know God and His will, neither their office and duty. Let us reverently hear and read Holy Scripture, which is the Food of the soul. Let us diligently search for the well of life in the books of the New and Old Testament, and not run to the stinking puddles of men's traditions, devised by men's imaginations, for our justification and salvation.

"St. John Chrysostom saith : 'Whatsoever is required to the salvation of man is fully contained in the Scripture of God.' These books, therefore, ought to be much in our hands, in our eyes, in our ears, in our mouths, but most of all in our hearts. . . . The words of Holy Scripture be called words of everlasting life, for they be God's instruments ordained for the same purpose. They have power to turn through God's promise and be effectual by God's assistance ; and, being received in a faithful heart, they have ever a heavenly, spiritual working in them. They are lively and quick and mighty in operation, and sharper than any two-edged sword (Heb. iv.).

"Christ calleth him a wise builder that buildeth upon His *Word*, upon His sure and substantial *foundation*. By this Word of God we shall be judged, 'for the Word that I speak,' saith Christ, 'is it that shall judge at the last day,' etc." (see First Homily).

Latimer, from the conference between Ridley and Latimer in prison at Oxford :

"But how are the Scriptures, say they, to be understood? St. Augustine answereth, giving this rule: 'The circumstances of the Scriptures lighten the Scriptures,' and so one Scripture doth expound another; to a man that is studious, well willing, and often calling upon God in continual prayer, who giveth His Holy Spirit to them that desire it of Him. So that the Scripture is not of any private interpretation at any time. For such a one, though he be a Layman, fearing God, is much more fit to understand Scripture than any arrogant and proud priest—yea, than the Bishop himself, be he never so great in all his pontificals.

"But what is to be said of the Fathers? How are they to be esteemed? St. Augustine answereth giving this rule also: That we should not therefore think it true because they say so, do they never so much excel in learning or holiness, but if they be able to prove their saying by the canonical Scriptures or by good probable reasons, meaning that to be a probable reason, as I think, which doth orderly follow upon a right collection and gathering of the Scriptures.

"Let the Papists go with their long faith. Be you content with the short faith of the saints, which is revealed unto us in the Word of God written. Adieu to all Popish fantasies. Amen. For one man having the Scripture, and good reason for him, is more to be esteemed himself alone than a thousand such as they, either gathered together [Councils] or succeeding one another [Apostolical Succession].

"The Fathers have both herbs and weeds, and Papists

commonly gather the weeds and leave the herbs. And they [the Fathers] speak many times more vehemently in sound of words than they did mean, indeed, or than they would have done if they had foreseen what sophistical wranglers should have succeeded them. Now the Papists are given to brawl about words, to the maintenance of their own inventions, and rather follow the sound of words than attain unto the meaning of the Fathers, so that it is dangerous to trust them in citing the Fathers."

Bishop Ridley: "What is Truth? Sir, God's Word is the Truth." From a letter written by Ridley in prison at Oxford to West,* formerly his chaplain, who on the accession of Mary turned back to Popery, and wrote to Ridley informing him that he must either "agree or die."

Ridley replies:

"Remember your promises made to me in times past of the pure setting forth and preaching of God's Word and His truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other but to be charged with them at God's hand.

"This conscience and the love I bear unto you biddeth me now say unto you in God's name: 'Fear God and love not the world, for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. When His wrath is kindled suddenly, blessed are all they that put their trust in Him.' And the saying of St. John is true: 'All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world; and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.' If this gift of grace, which

* West was convinced he had done wrong, but wanted courage to renounce his preferments and the world. He died before Ridley suffered at the stake, for we find Ridley saying in a letter to Grindal at Frankfort: "West, your old companion and some time mine officer, alas! hath relented (as I have heard), but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon he is dead and is gone." Coverdale has endorsed this letter thus: "This West, when he had relented and said Mass against his conscience, shortly after pined away and died for sorrow."

undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation, were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as is now, alas ! seen so manifestly of so many in these days.

"But here, peradventure, you would know of me what is the Truth. *Sir, God's Word is the Truth*, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the moon, yet *God's Word is stable and abideth one* for ever more ; and of Christ it is truly said : ' Christ yesterday and to-day the same is also for ever.' When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's Word agreed this to be a truth in God's Word written, that the common prayer of the Church should be had in the common tongue. If, then, it were a truth of God's Word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth ? If it cannot, why, then, do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once by us all ? For what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world but to maintain the Truth taught in God's Word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same ?

"This one thing have I brought for an example ; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not to rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, *any one open Truth of God's Word*, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God, and *all His Truth*, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed than he doth God and the truth of His Word.

"I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say I must either 'agree or die,' and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it to make such an agreement by the which I could never escape this death, which is so common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damna-

tion ! Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live !

" And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and, I think, verily wishing me to live and not to die, therefore bearing you in my heart no less love in God than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you I say to all my friends and lovers in God), that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon God's Word, but will either for fear or gain of the world shrink and play the *apostate*, indeed you shall die *the death*. You know what I mean.

" And I beseech you, all my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time, peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you.

" From Bocardo, in Oxford, the 8th day of April, 1554.

" NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

Tyndale and the Bible.

From the first New Testament printed in English—
Epistle to the Reader :

" Give diligence, reader, I exhort thee, that thou come with a pure mind, and, as the Scripture saith, with a single eye, unto the words of health and eternal life ; by the which, if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ," etc.

From his preface to the five Books of Moses :

" A thousand books they had lever to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine than that the Scriptures should come to light. For as long as they may keep *that* down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry, and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations with arguments of philosophy and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom, and with wresting of Scripture

unto their own purpose, clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text, and so delude them with descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses before the unlearned lay people (when it hath but one simple literal sense, whose light the Owls cannot abide), that though thou feel in thine heart and art sure that all is false that they say, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles: *which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament*, because I had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text; for whatsoever truth is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again, partly with the smoke of their bottomless pit, whereof thou readest in Rev. ix. (that is, with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without ground of Scripture), and partly in juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as is impossible to gather of the text, if thou see the process, order, and meaning thereof."

From the preface to his "Justification by Faith Only":

"Some man will ask, peradventure: Why take the labour to make this work, inasmuch as they will *burn it*, seeing they *burnt the Gospel*? I answer: In *burning the New Testament* they did none other thing than that I looked for; no more shall they do if they *burn me also*, if it be God's will it shall be so.

"Nevertheless, in translating the New Testament I did my duty, and so I do now, and will do as much more as God hath ordained me to do. And as I offered that to all men to correct it whosoever could, even so I do this. Whosoever, therefore, readeth this, compare it with the Scripture. If God's Word bear record unto it, and thou also feelest in thine heart that it is so, be of good comfort, and give God thanks. If God's Word condemn it, then hold it accursed, and so do all other doctrines, as Paul counselleth the Galatians. Believe not every spirit

suddenly, but judge them by the *Word of God*, which is the trial of all doctrine and lasteth for ever. Amen."

Bishop Hooper, of Merton College, Oxford, from his Visitation Book, 1551, to the Clergy :

"That none do teach or preach any manner of thing to be necessary for the salvation of man, other than that which is contained in the book of God's holy Word called the Old and New Testament.

"Item : That they and every of them do diligently teach and preach that the Church of God is the congregation of the faithful, wherein the Word of God is truly preached and the Sacraments justly ministered, according to the institution of Christ, and His doctrine taught unto us by His holy Word ; and that the Church of God is not by God's Word taken for the company or multitude of men as of bishops, priests, or such other, but that it is the company of all men hearing God's Word and obeying unto the same, lest that any man should be seduced, believing himself to be bound unto any ordinary Succession of bishops and priests, but *only* unto the Word of God and to the right use of the Sacraments."

From Bishop Hooper's "Confession of Faith" :

"*Article. LIV.*—I believe that the same Word of God is of far greater authority than the Church ; the which Word *only* doth sufficiently show and teach us all those things that in any wise concern our salvation, both what we ought to do and what we ought to leave undone. The same Word of God is the true pattern and perfect rule after the which all faithful people ought to govern and order their lives, without any turning either to the right hand or to the left hand, without changing anything thereof, without putting to it or taking from it, knowing that all the works of God are perfect, but most chiefly His Word."

From his answer to Bishop Gardner's book :

"God hath bound his Church, and all men that be of the Church, to be obedient unto the Word of God. It is bound unto no title or name of men, nor unto any ordinary

succession of bishops or priests, longer than they teach the doctrine contained in the Scripture ; no man should give hearing unto them, but follow the rule of St. Paul : ' If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed. '

" God hath preserved in all captivities and persecution of the Church miraculously one Book, the Holy Bible ; delivered the same unto the Church, and bound the Church unto this Book, as Christ saith (John xiv.) : ' But the Comforter whom the Father will send you in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you. ' He said that His Holy Spirit shall teach none other doctrine than He Himself taught, and the same that He taught.

" Therefore withdraw thy heart from this opinion, that they would deceive thy soul withal under the pretence of ' Holy Church. ' They only be the Church that embrace this holy Book, the Bible—heareth it, learneth it, and followeth the judgment of it. He is a Christian man that leaveth the word of man and keepeth the word of God. ' If a man love Me, he will keep My words ' (John xiv. 23) ; and ' He that hath My Commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth Me ' (John v. 20). Paul commanded Timothy to be studious in the Scriptures, and not to study in Talmud or Darish, or other decrees of the Pharisees. ' Give attendance to reading ' ; also ' Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly. ' "

Again : " The water at the fountain-head is more wholesome and pure than when it is carried abroad in rotten pipes or stinking ditches. I had rather follow the shadow of Christ than the body of all the general Councils or doctors since the death of Christ. The devil never slept, but always by his ministers attempted to destroy the verity of Christ's religion, and clean to put out the light of truth which was perfect in Christ's time, and in the time of the Apostles. None since that time so pure, Saint Hierome saith that his time was darkness in respect of the Apostles' time. "

Again : " If the Clergy should judge, the world would

and might say they are too partial, and for many respects would too much favour their own commodity. If the temporality should judge, the Clergy would think something to be done of displeasure or malice that always in manner hath remained between the parties. Therefore I would have once these *four* indifferent *judges* to break the strife. The Bible in Hebrew, the Bible in Greek, the Bible in Latin, and the Bible in English, or in any other vulgar tongue, according to the speech of the realm. Then doubtless these judges that favoureth not the one part more than the other would set men at peace in case they loved not dissension. But as long as the authority of any General Council or judgment of man is accounted equivalent and equal with the Word of God, the truth cannot be sincerely known."

Bishop Jewell, from a sermon in St. Mary's, Oxford (reign of Edward VI.)—"If any man speak, let him talk as the words of God" (1 Pet. iv. 11):

" 'Let him that speaketh speak as the words of God.' The truth must be spoken, not lies; the Scriptures, not fables; the precepts of the highest God, and not the dreams of men. For religion is to be ordered, not by our judgment, but by the *Word of God*. Wherein, if we shall hearken to Moses or to the Prophets, or to the Apostles of Christ, or the Father himself, we shall not much go out of the way.

"For Moses, whatsoever was to be said or done in so great a wilderness, always asked counsel of the Lord; he never brought them anything of his own head. The prophets always say: 'The Word of the Lord'; 'Thus saith the Lord.' 'I,' saith Paul, 'have received my gospel, not of man, neither by man,' etc.; and again: 'I know nothing but Jesus Christ, and the same crucified.' And Christ saith: 'All things which I have heard of My Father I have delivered unto you;' and 'Preach you,' saith He, not whatsoever shall come in your head, but 'the Gospel to all creatures.' And when the Pharisees and Sadducees had moved the question of divorcement and the resurrection of the dead to life, He never had recourse unto the Rabbins,

but always to the Word of the Lord. God the Father crying from heaven. 'This,' saith He, 'is my dearly-beloved Son'; He saith not 'Hear your fathers, your grandfathers, or your great-grandfathers,' but he saith, 'Hear Him,' even Him. For our Heavenly Father would have His Son and His Word to be taught and to be beat into men's heads in all places.

"I know these things seem new to most of you, and not to be believed, but put from you, I beseech you, your affections and that opinion of things which you have already conceived, and you shall well perceive that I feign nothing for the times' sake, but that I speak the thing itself. Christ hath ordained the Holy Communion in *remembrance* of Himself; men do neither retain any remembrance of Christ nor yet communion, but have changed the whole matter into a *gay show*, and almost a stage play, etc. Christ willed that nothing should be added to His law; men do not only add many things, but the same things prefer before the Word of God. But why should I reckon up more? This only will I speak, and that in a word: they have brought in transubstantiation, masses, calling upon saints, sole life, purgatory, images, vows, trifles, follies, babbles—into the Church of God have delivered *new* things, and which the Scriptures never heard of. Whatsoever they cry or crack, they bring not a jot out of the Word of God.

"And these are the things wherewith the Church of God *at these days* is disquieted. Upon these lieth the watch and ward of the Church. These they honour instead of the Scriptures, and force them to the people instead of the Word of God; upon these men suppose their salvation and the sum of religion to be grounded.

"And *that which is much more grievous*, notwithstanding at this present (time of Edward VI.), by the great goodness of God, religion is restored almost to her former dignity and light, yet, poor and pitiful souls, they set great store by these things, they resort to them again, and teach them as though without them the Church could not be in safety. Oh! if the Word of the Lord might be heard among so many

clamours and in so great a hurly-burly ! if we could suffer God Himself to sit as judge in His own case, the matter would be soon passed over with less tumult a great deal, and more easily might we agree about the whole matter. Wherefore, if all the worship of God, all godliness, all religion, be to be sought out of the Word of God—if the institutions of men have miserably perverted all things in all times, let us, my brethren, unto whom the office of teaching is allotted, consider how dangerous a thing it is to speak more, and let all who will be, and will have themselves accounted to be, Christians *remember* how dangerous a thing it is to believe more. And if there be any of this whole number which hath given himself to any other kind of life, yet let him consider that these things belong unto him, so that if he neither can nor will teach, yet let him diligently and attentively hear him that speaketh, and give God thanks that he hath happened on those times in which he may hear the Word of God *freely* and purely. Let us not be wedded too much to our own wit ; let us not be wedded too much to the fathers and forefathers," etc.

Rogers on the Articles (Elizabeth's reign) :

" *Article VI.* The sacred Scripture containeth all things necessary to be known and believed for the salvation of man.

" Proof from God's Word as to the sufficiency of Holy Scripture :

" ' Ye shall put nothing unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye take ought therefrom ' (Deut. iv. 2).

" ' Whatsoever I command you, take heed you do it; thou shalt put nothing thereto nor take ought therefrom. Thou shalt not turn away from it to the right hand nor to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest ' (Deut. xii. ; Josh. i. 7).

" ' Every word of God is pure,' etc. ' Put nothing unto His words lest He reprove thee, and thou be found a liar ' (Prov. xxx. 5, 6).

" ' These things are written that ye might belie

that in believing ye might have life through His name ' (John xx. 31).

" 'The whole Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute, being made perfect unto all good works ' (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17).

" 'If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book ; and if any man shall diminish of the words of this book, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from those things that are written in this book ' (Rev. xxii. 18, 19).

" *Hereunto* God's people both always have and at this present (1576) do subscribe."

CONCLUSION.

To one who has perused with care the above extracts the real difference between Church of England Principles and those of Rome must be evident. It would be an easy matter to show that the Church Principles advocated by Mr. Gladstone in his work, published twenty years ago, are in close sympathy with those of Rome, and that already such teaching, tolerated so long in the University, has not only led many to Rome, but that others among the clergy who have grown up under its influence are in profound ignorance of the central truths they are appointed to teach.

A case illustrating the kind of teaching many young clergymen have received came under the compiler's notice not long since. A young vicar of one of the Oxford parishes and his curate had a controversy over a sermon the curate had preached from the words, "The Lord our righteousness," and which difference of opinion resulted in a separation. The curate, as in duty bound, declared in his sermon the Church of England doctrine of Justification by Faith, and the imputed righteousness of our Saviour to the sinner. This the vicar denied to be a Church doctrine, but more strange is it to say—and it is the point bearing on our

subject—this young vicar declared openly that it was a *new doctrine to him*, and had never been brought under his notice before. Here was a young vicar who had been educated at one of the large public schools, had gone through the University course of instruction for the ministry, and yet as ignorant of the principal doctrine of the Reformation as though none such existed. The reason is plain: his tutors of the High Church school could not inculcate this important truth because it told against their new theories. But consider for a moment the case of this young vicar, and there are many such. He could patronize the closest imitations of Romanism in his parish, a Sisterhood named after the pattern of Rome, of the Order of the Holy Trinity, their vows, dresses, crosses all copied from Rome, and in the parish church many new-fangled things by way of decoration, and yet he himself, who was placed at his post to teach the parishioners the way of salvation from the Bible, all the while, as he himself confesses, ignorant and opposed to the greatest doctrine of our Church.

There are, however, some whose words of warning may arouse the Church to this danger in Oxford and elsewhere; to quote one in particular, Dr. Jackson, Bishop of Lincoln, a man who has kept up a friendly intercourse with some of the very leaders of the heresy, but who never identified himself with that or any other party—a man who enjoys the reputation of a conscientious and honest Bishop.

From the Bishop of Lincoln's charge to the Clergy, 1861:

"All of us brethren who have been preserved to middle life have witnessed the rise of a *movement*. And we have seen this movement pass the bounds of moderation.

"Its tendency was to overlay the essential verities of Justification by Faith—the conscious conversion of the soul to God, and personal sanctification by the direct influence of the Holy Spirit on the soul—by an exaggerated sacramental system and the interposition of a human mediation. The Church and its ordinances were magnified till the Saviour was respectfully removed by them, as it were, to a distance from the sinner's soul," etc.

This lamentable state of things is sad indeed, but it is not hopeless, if only it is faced and a return made to the Scriptural Principles set forth by our Reformers, and embodied in the Church Articles, and their teaching honestly observed.

Evil has been introduced most craftily into our Church, and dishonesty has marked the steps of Popery everywhere. We may quote an instance in the smuggling into Holywell Church, Oxford, in the dusk of the evening, of a stone altar, with its stone legs or supports cased in wood to deceive—the parishioners not discovering for a month that their “honest Communion Table” had been taken away by the vicar, and a stone altar, carved exactly like the Romish ones, substituted. To the credit of the parishioners, be it recorded that as soon as they discovered the cheat, a demand for the restoration of their old Protestant Table was made with that firmness that all the clergy who were parties to the fraud were obliged to remove their stone altar and bring back the Table. This is merely an example of how Church principles have been propagated. Dishonesty in its plain and literal meaning attaches to Tractarianism from the first. The leaders were quite aware that the standard, the Articles of our Church, were thoroughly Protestant, and the Service-books were compiled in accordance with that standard, and yet the astounding and repulsive fact appears that a body of clergy, pledged to maintain those principles, banded themselves together to set aside their standard of doctrine by signing it in a “non-natural” or false sense. Such conduct would not be tolerated for a moment in the commercial community or transactions of everyday life.

We must not suppose that Oxford has never before been subject to a hankering after Romanism. The history of the University tells us that late in Elizabeth’s reign “Superstition had begun to creep into Oxford,” and that “The University was very solicitous and in earnest to root up all the seeds of superstition, and therefore delegated Doctors of the most consummate knowledge to

frame rules or orders proper for this end." These rules prescribed particularly the kind of instruction to be given to the students. They name the Bible, the Articles of Religion, and such Protestant authors whose writings harmonize with our Articles, among them two of our Oxford men, Bishop Jewell and Dean Nowell.

Here is a precedent for our University authorities to consult, for what was effectual in those days is equally efficient now.

In conclusion, when we see how great were the calamities which grew up under the tolerance of error and ignorance of the Word of God, and how terrible a tyranny the Romish sacramental system imposes on men, even in the midst of high intellectual attainments, shall we not do our utmost to discountenance every effort made to bring back that spiritual bondage in its worst forms? Shall we not strive to defend the sacred cause of Truth and Liberty, which is again assailed, and will be as long as this world shall last? Shall we not give more earnest heed to the Apostle's words, "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage"?

"And could we see with Herbert's eagle eyes,
Without checkmate Religion westward flies.
Cathedral Priests long since have laid about
Hammer and tongs to drive Religion out;
Her grace and majesty makes them so afraid
They cry 'content' and so espouse her Maid.
She's decent, lovely, chaste, divine they say,
She loves their sons that *sing* our sins away;
Could we but count the thousands every year
These *dreams* consume, the music is too dear.

... Now Seine is swallowing Tiber, if the Thames
By letting in them both pollute her streams,
Or if the Bishops shall connive or wink,
Beware the thunderbolt 'Migremus hinc.' "

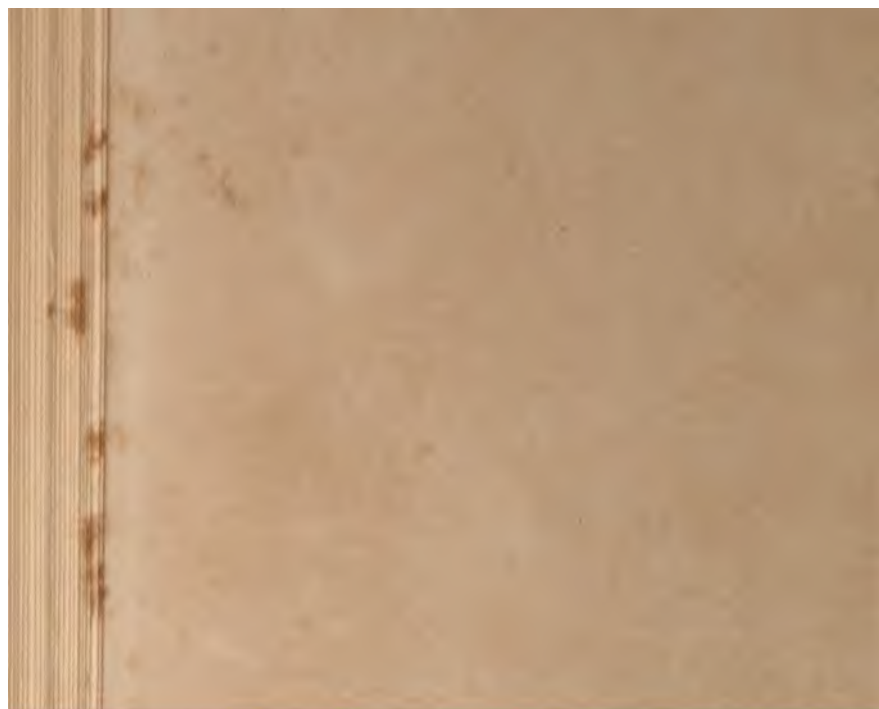
"May God amend what is amiss,
For we be somewhat wide I wiss."
BISHOP LATIMER.











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